# Acculturation orientations of Turkish immigrants in Germany

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# ACCULTURATION ORIENTATIONS OF TURKISH IMMIGRANTS IN GERMANY

# ACCULTURATION ORIENTATIONS OF TURKISH IMMIGRANTS IN GERMANY

PROEFSCHRIFT

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## Contents

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CHAPTER 1

# Introduction

## 1.1 Overview

This research project deals primarily with the relationship between language and identity. Its aim was to investigate the acculturation orientations of Turkish immigrant minority groups in Germany and the behaviour of the receiving society towards the language use of these groups, and to establish how this behaviour has influenced the acculturation orientations of various generations. A further objective was to lay bare the factors involved in (un)succesful integration through closer inspection of the relationship between language policies of the receiving society and the integration patterns of Turkish immigrants.

After the Second World War, many industrialised countries initiated bilateral agreements with developing countries to solve shortages in their labour markets. As a result of this recruitment policy, Turkish immigrants, mainly from rural areas of Anatolia, migrated to Western European countries. Germany was the first country to sign a recruitment agreement with Turkey, and hosted the largest number of Turkish immigrants. Hence, the phrase 'Almanci' (Turks who work in Germany) has been used in Turkey not only for Turkish immigrants in Germany but also for those in other European countries. Apart from it being used as a generic term, it also carries the connotation of migrants showing off the economic success they have achieved despite their relatively poor educational backgrounds.

During my service as an Educational Counsellor in Europe between 2002 and 2005, I had the opportunity to investigate the education and integration policies of Germany and Holland and the acculturation patterns of Turkish immigrants in these countries. German integration policies reminded me of the words "in our Germany", a phrase which Turkish immigrants use in their homeland. When they use this phrase in Turkey, the suggestions is that they identify with Germany. However, judging from the attitudes and behaviour towards them that they encounter in their everyday lives in Germany, the phrase belies the truth. As it turns out the Germany they profess to be referring to is still a long way removed from being truly 'their Germany'. Although Turkish immigrants have been involved in every aspect of German society, they have had to struggle for their rights, for

example in gaining access to language lessons in their mother tongue or for equal socio-cultural treatment. However, in the year 2000, Germany launched new integration policies which yielded some amendments in favour of the rights of immigrant groups. There have been new developments in Germany which differ from the findings in the literature. The project I have been fortunate to take part in, aims at reaching new understandings concerning the new policies and attitudes towards immigrant groups.

## 1.2 General profile of the dissertation

This research is part of a cross-national project carried out in four countries: Germany, The Netherlands, France and Australia. These countries are referred to in the literature as being representatives of four different state ideologies concerning the integration of immigrant minority groups. One of the basic premises of this project is that state ideologies have a decisive impact on minority and majority groups. In the literature, four clusters of state ideologies shaping integration and language policies of immigrant receiving societies are identified (Bauböck et al. 1996; Bourhis, 2001; May, 2001; Penninx, 1996). These ideologies range from multiculturalism to separatism, in terms of pluralist, civic, assimilationist, and ethnist ideologies. States with a pluralist ideology provide support for language classes and cultural activities to promote first language maintenance. States with a civic ideology expect immigrants to adopt the public values of the mainstream society. Like those with a pluralist ideology, states with a civic ideology do not interfere with the private values of their citizens but unlike states advocating pluralism, they do not provide any provisions for the maintenance or promotion of linguistic or cultural values of minorities. States with an assimilation ideology expect minorities to comply with the norms and values of the mainstream society. In contrast to states with pluralist and civic ideologies, states with an assimilation ideology expect complete linguistic and cultural assimilation to the mainstream society. In the name of the homogenisation of society, assimilationist language policies aim at accelerating language shift and language attrition among minorities. States with an ethnist ideology share most of the aspects of those with an assimilation ideology, except that they make it difficult for immigrant minorities to be accepted legally or socially as full members of the mainstream society. Nationality and naturalisation laws characteristically distinguish states with ethnist ideologies from those with other ideologies; the principle of *ius sanguinis* (law of blood) underlies acquisition of nationality in countries with ethnist ideologies. This issue will be comprehensively dealt with in Chapter 2.

In research studies, it is a common phenomenon to compare different ethnolinguistic groups in the same national context. Yet there is a lack of empirical

and methodological studies on the same ethnolinguistic groups in different contexts belonging to different ideological clusters. The approach taken in this study provides further opportunities for investigating the possible effects of state ideologies related to acculturation orientations of minority groups. For the purpose of this research, which was conducted in the four countries mentioned above, Turkish immigrants were chosen as the target group because they are the largest immigrant groups in Western Europe and they are a relatively large group in Australia, which is incorporated in this study as a representative of states with a pluralist state ideology. The presented research project was conducted in Germany to analyse the effects of German state integration policy on Turkish immigrants' intergenerational acculturation orientations, language maintenance and shift patterns and their ethnolinguistic vitality perceptions.

Immigrant minority groups are generally known to shift to the mainstream language within three generations (Appel & Muysken, 1987; Gonzo & Saltarelli, 1983). Gonzo & Saltarelli argue that because of non-use of the first language and transfer from the second language, first-generation immigrants experience language attrition over the years. As a result of this, second-generation immigrants acquire a somewhat impoverished form of the first language, which gets impoverished further in the course of the acquisition process due to a variety of linguistic and sociolinguistic factors. On top of the fact that they acquired an already 'reduced' form of the first language to begin with, second-generation immigrants experience the same ongoing process of further attrition that their parents already struggled with as well, leading to an even further reduced form of the first language being passed on to the third generation. Given this cascade model, Gonzo & Saltarelli argue that within three or four generations immigrant languages in contact with a majority language are doomed to be lost. This intergenerational pattern is supported by some earlier work (Fishman, 1991; Paulston et al. 1993; Verhoeven & Boeschoten, 1986). Yet, evidence obtained in different national contexts concerning language shift among different ethnic groups challenges the outlined prototypical model (Clyne, 2003; Extra & Yagmur, 2004). Even though intergenerational differences are known to affect first language use, the extent of language shift observed between generations is closely connected to group characteristics. It turns out that, regardless of the policies pursued by the host society, members of minority groups with high ethno-linguistic vitality, may (successfully) resist linguistic and cultural assimilation by setting up their own ethnic institutions. In this research project, two different generations of Turkish immigrants were targeted to test (and challenge) Gonzo & Saltarelli's cascade model. By correlating intergenerational Turkish immigrants' language use patterns to their acculturation patterns, the relationship between language change and socio-cultural orientation will be uncovered.

## 1.3 The target group

Given the fact that Turks are the largest minority group resident in Germany (currently over 2.8 million Turkish nationals), and given the extensive duration of their exposure to German, it has been possible to conduct this study with two generations of Turkish immigrants in Germany. Although Turkish immigrants were initially thought to be temporary guest workers, they have now become permanent residents of Germany. In 2005, around 840,000 Turkish immigrants held German nationality, and approximately 75,000 nationalities are added to this number each year. In the literature, Turkish people are known to have high ethnolinguistic vitality, perceiving the Turkish language as a core value of their ethnic identity (Yagmur & Akinci, 2003; Yagmur, 2004). Important features of current German immigration policies illustrate the ethnist ideology behind it (Bourhis et al. 1997). German nationality laws reflect a founding myth based on common blood ties (*volkisch, volkschenkern*) binding all Germans by virtue of their blood ties (Peralva, 1994). However, as a result of growing criticism, certain aspects of German nationality law are becoming less restrictive (Hoerder, 1996).

Turkish immigrants have formed institutions and foundations to deal with these German integration policies. For most Germans, integration meant assimilating Turks into German society without paying any attention to pluralism or multiculturalism (Mueller, 2006). Although there are hundreds of studies dealing with Turkish immigration to Germany, with the Turkish immigrant labour force, their educational attainments, and integration patterns, it is hard to find studies that include a sociolinguistic dimension involving in-depth investigation of language attitudes towards first language maintenance and loss. In order to systematically investigate the impact of language contact situations on immigrant minority languages, various language use typologies have been proposed (Kloss, 1966; Giles et al. 1977; Smolicz, 1981; Conklin & Lourie, 1983; Fishman, 1991; and Bourhis, 2001). Each of these frameworks considers particular linguistic and social factors to be essential for an accurate description of language contact situations. Nevertheless, these models have their own specific conceptual-methodological shortcomings and limitations. So far no study has attempted to combine these different models and perspectives. The present investigation aims at integrating acculturation models (Berry, 1997; Bourhis et al. 1997; Bourhis, 2001), cultural core value theory (Smolizc, 1981), a language maintenance-shift model (Conklin & Lourie, 1983) and ethnolinguistic vitality theory (Giles et al. 1977) in a consistent manner.

The Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory or EVT (developed by Giles et al. 1977) is a socio-psychological approach to the relationship between language and identity. In this theory, the vitality of an ethnolinguistic group is defined as 'that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in inter-group situations' (Giles et al. 1977: 308). The model basically claims that vitality

perceptions of a linguistic group will affect the group members' language use and their social integration patterns (Bourhis, 2001; Allard & Landry, 1986; Kraemer et al. 1994; Yagmur, 1997). Clyne (2003) suggests that the model is very useful for comparing the ethnolinguistic vitality of the same ethnolinguistic group in contact situations with different other ethnolinguistic groups, which ties in well with the aim of this research project. The EVT and its accompanying research instrument is associated with methodological problems in the literature, but on the basis of previous research using the theory and instrument, substantial changes and additions made it possible to achieve considerable fine-tuning for its use in this research project.

To test the given dimensions above, 137 first generation and 128 second-generation immigrants were included in this study. There were 140 female and 125 male participants. The data were gathered in many parts of Germany that are known as concentration areas for Turkish immigrants during the period of 2005-2006. Turkish immigrants' generation categorization has been made on the basis of their birth country and the age at the time of immigration. In order to examine the ethnolinguistic vitality perception of both groups, 129 German informants were included in this study beside the 265 Turkish informants.

## 1.4 Overview of the dissertation

There are 6 chapters in this dissertation. Chapter 2 focuses on the literature on acculturation orientations of both minority and majority groups. It explores frameworks of language shift and maintenance, patterns of identity formation and change, intergenerational differences in language use, and studies on ethnolinguistic vitality. Accordingly, findings of earlier studies on the topic are reviewed in this second chapter.

Chapter 3 offers a general view of Turkish immigrants in Germany. In this chapter, the history of Turkish migration to Germany, the demographic status of Turkish immigrants, their education profiles and employment rates, and media use in Germany are documented. This chapter also covers the institutional support offered by Turkish and German communities as well as the German State in relation to, for example, mother tongue lessons, religious facilities and state policies concerning immigration and integration.

Chapter 4 deals with the research methodology. In this chapter, the aim and rationale behind the research, information about the informants, questionnaires, data collection and data processing procedures are explained.

In Chapter 5, the background characteristics of the informants and the outcomes of the research conducted among two generations of Turkish immigrants

are presented. The chapter also discusses the outcomes of host community members' interactive acculturation scale and ethnolinguistic vitality perceptions.

Chapter 6 offers conclusions and discussions. It also offers suggestions for acculturation strategies that promote multilingualism and successful integration among ethnolinguistic groups in inter-cultural contexts.

CHAPTER 2

# Turkish acculturation in Germany

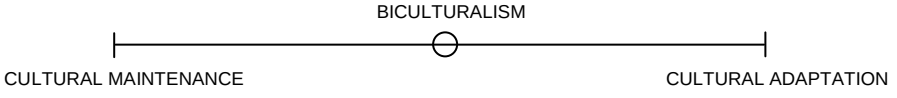
Today, it is almost impossible to name any country that has a homogenous society in which there is no intercultural contact. The increase in the global population and the widening of socio-economic differences between low- and high-income countries have acted as push factors in sending people from less economically developed regions of the world to more developed parts in search of a better life (Sam & Berry, 1997). As a consequence of continuous direct contact between culturally different people, acculturation processes occur both in groups and in members of these groups. Initially, acculturation was conceived of as culture change. However, Graves (1967) proposed the concept of psychological acculturation to focus attention on the obvious fact that individuals who are members of cultural communities that are in a cultural contact situation will experience personal changes in their behaviour and underlying psychological attributes, such as attitudes, values and motives (Berry, 1980). In this chapter an overview is presented of the framework of acculturation models and strategies, and the acculturation orientation of minority and majority group members. Accordingly, intergenerational differences and ethnic vitality perceptions of minority groups, and the use of language as part of macro-social processes are portrayed.

## 2.1 Acculturation

Acculturation processes have been taking place for millennia, but contemporary interest in research on acculturation grew out of a concern for the effects of European domination of indigenous peoples. Later, it focused on how immigrants changed following their entry and settlement into receiving societies. More recently, much work has been done on how ethnocultural groups relate to each other and change as a result of their attempts to live together in culturally plural societies (Berry, 2005). Although acculturation is the dual process that results in cultural and psychological changes as a consequence of contact between different cultural groups and their members, this is not how it has been approached in politics and

policies, where in the last few decades it has been taken as being synonymous with assimilation. In this context, minority groups were assumed to want to shed their culture of origin and adopt the culture of the receiving society. Gordon's unidimensional model clearly reflects this approach. In Gordon's unidimensional acculturation model (1964), immigrants are portrayed as moving along a continuum, with maintenance of the immigrant culture at the one pole and adoption of the host culture at the other, the latter usually being achieved at the cost of losing their heritage culture. The midpoint on this continuum is biculturalism, in which immigrants retain some features of their heritage culture while adopting key elements of the host culture (Bourhis et al. 1997).

Figure 2.1: Gordon's unidimensional model



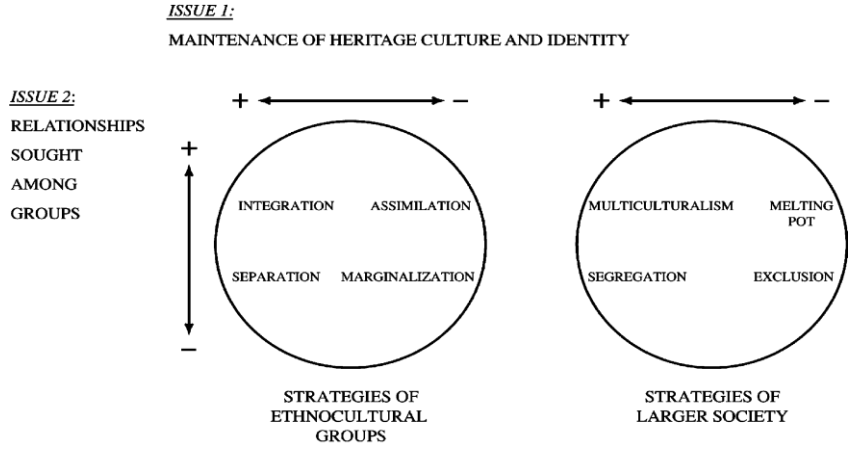

The unidimensional model suggests a process of cultural change on the part of minority groups from cultural maintenance to full assimilation into the mainstream culture. However, this model fails to capture and include minority group members' preference on how to acculturate. There may be different acculturation strategies, goals and outcomes, even among members of one and the same family. In addition, acculturation is not a one-sided process: the attitudes and policies of the dominant society have a decisive impact on the acculturation orientations of immigrants. Empirical research on acculturation issues has shown that not only minority groups but also dominant majority groups experience processes of mutual acculturation, such as learning each other's languages, being influenced in terms of food preferences, clothing, and so on. During acculturation, groups of people and their individual members engage in intercultural contact, producing a potential for conflict, and the need for negotiation in order to achieve outcomes that are adaptive for both parties (Berry, 2005). Shortcomings in Gordon's unidimensional model led to it being replaced by bidimensional models.

Berry (1974, 1980) proposes that immigrant and host cultural identity could be portrayed as independent dimensions. Berry's bidimensional model postulates that combinations of majority and minority group strategies result in mutual acculturation strategies. According to Berry's bidimensional model, immigrants answer the questions as to whether or not the immigrant culture should be retained and whether relations with the host society are necessary (Fig. 2.2). The four immigrant acculturation strategies distinguished are referred to as integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization (Arends-Toth, 2003; Berry, 1997;

Bourhis et al. 1997; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002). The integration strategy reflects a desire amongst immigrant populations to maintain core values of the minority culture while also adopting norms and values of the host society. Assimilation takes place when maintenance of the minority culture is seen by minority group members as unnecessary while adaptation to the mainstream culture has utmost priority. The separation strategy reflects maintenance of ethnic values and language, while rejecting the culture of the host society. Marginalization refers to a rejection of both the immigrant and the host culture.

It should be noted that in most bidimensional studies the term marginalization has been replaced by the terms anomie and individualism. The reason for this is that the term marginalization tends to be associated with alienation and deviance, and does not accurately define people who desire to neither maintain their culture nor to adapt to the mainstream culture.

Figure 2.2: Berry's bidimensional model




The framework outlined above is taken from the perspective of minority ethnocultural groups with the assumption that they are free to decide on the acculturation pattern they want. However, studies of intergroup relations have shown that majority group members and nation-state policies have a decisive impact on the acculturation orientations of immigrant minorities. In other words, although both groups in continuous direct contact experience the process of mutual acculturation, it is the majority groups' attitudes and policies that shape minority groups' acculturation strategies. Berry (1980) added a third dimension to his bidimensional model by giving the host community the added weight of influencing and shaping the acculturation orientation of immigrant minorities. In

Berry's bidimensional framework, host community members' acculturation orientations towards immigrants (indicated on the right in Fig. 2.2) are classified by asking them whether they find it acceptable that immigrants maintain their heritage culture or whether they feel immigrants should adopt the culture of host community. This *Host Community Acculturation Scale* (HCAS) yields acculturation patterns in four categories: multiculturalism, melting-pot, segregation, and exclusion. A pattern of multiculturalism is one where diversity is seen by the dominant acculturation group in terms of prosperity of the nation. In a melting-pot strategy, assimilation of minority groups is sought by the dominant group. Segregation is found where the dominant group forces minority groups to remain separate. Finally, exclusion results when the dominant group forces the minority group to become marginalized (Berry, 1980).

Finally, the *Interactive Acculturation Model* (IAM) proposes a conceptual bridge between public policy, host majority and immigrant group reactions to ethnocultural diversity. This model makes predictions regarding the acculturation combinations most likely to produce consensual, problematic, and conflictual relational outcomes between immigrants and members of the host community. Thus it is a combination of state integration policy and host majority and immigrant group acculturation orientations that contribute to the relational outcomes proposed in this model. Taken together, these propositions demonstrate the dynamic nature of the IAM framework, whose ultimate goal is to better account for host community and immigrant group relations as they evolve in ever-changing multicultural and multi-ethnic settings (Bourhis, 1997).

In the German context, until recently, scholarship on immigrants has favoured strongly state-centred perspectives in which immigrants' rights and duties are conferred by the state (Ehrkamp & Leitner, 2003), neglecting acculturation orientations of both minority and majority groups. Yet without identifying the effects of the receiving societies' attitudes and policies concerning acculturation orientations of immigrants, we fail to capture the social mechanisms and dynamics influencing relational outcomes, such as first-language maintenance or shift. In this project, the relevant questions addressing these issues were not only put before Turkish immigrants but also before mainstream Germans to test the *Interactive Acculturation Model.*

## 2.2 Identity formation and change

The concept of identity has been used in a range of multidisciplinary studies. Being a dynamic phenomenon, the term "identity" is conceived of in a number of ways. Post-modernist critiques give us a good idea of this use of different conceptualization of identity. According to Brubaker & Cooper (2000), identity

does not exist, but is rather a "catch-all" term used to represent almost anything pertaining to the self. Gergen (1991) conceptualized identity as being constantly in flux and being a concept that cannot be isolated as a permanent construction.

Erikson's concept of identity is widely referred to. In his conception, identity development is seen as a central task of adolescence that optimally results in a coherent and self-constructed dynamic organization of drives, abilities, beliefs, and personal history and that functionally guides the unfolding of the adult life course (Erikson, 1968). According to Adams & Marchal (1996), identity functions to provide the structure for understanding who one is: meaning and direction through commitments, values, and goals, a sense of personal control, consistency, coherence, and harmony between values, beliefs and commitments, and the ability to recognize potential in future possibilities and choices. Verkuyten (2005) suggests that in the past words like 'stability', 'unity', 'certainty' and 'essence' were assumed to describe identity phenomena accurately but that now 'variability', 'multiple', 'fragmentation', 'uncertainty' and 'ambivalence' are considered to be much more appropriate terms to describe the way identity functions.

Identity is regarded as the organization of self-understandings that define one's place in the world; that is, identity is a synthesis of personal, social, and cultural self-conceptions (Erikson, 1950; Schwartz, 2001). Erikson (1968) makes a distinction between a person's personal identity and their social identity. Personal identity represents one's set of goals, values and beliefs which are internally consistent and form a coherent sense of the self. Taking Erikson's standpoint, Schwartz et al. (2008) define personal identity in terms of an individual's goals, values and beliefs in such areas as political preference, religious ideology, occupational choice, family and friend relationship styles, and gender role ideologies so that personal identity represents the answer to the question *Who am I?* On the other hand, cultural identity represents values internalized from cultural groups to which the person belongs (Jensen, 2003) and therefore represents an answer to the question *Who am I as a member of my group, and in relation to other groups?* (Schwartz et al. 2008). Ericson included ego-identity as a third aspect of identity but argued that ego-identity is largely unconscious and may therefore not be accessible or measurable (cited in Schwartz, 2005).

Social identity primarily deals with in-group relations referring to solidarity with that group's ideals. Social identity is usually described in terms of group similarities and reflects shared interests, values, and beliefs, while individual identity is defined as a set of personal characteristics such as personality traits, physical characteristics, skills and abilities, personal experience and personal aspirations which in turn influence inter-group relations and social identity (Korostelina, 2007). According to the self-categorization theory put forward by Turner et al. (1987) (derived from the social identity theory developed by Tajfel 1981, and Tajfel & Turner 1979), individuals are more likely to think of themselves as members of social groups

where the use of a group label maximizes the similarities between oneself and other group members, and heightens one's differences with outsiders. In other words, social identity promotes in-group cohesion and out-group discrimination but also obliges individuals to abandon the freedom of choice and to accept the supremacy of in-group goals and values over their own. As social identity can be accepted or rejected as if it were a dress or suit since it is a result of free choice and entails no commitments (Lasch, 1979), the world consists of numerous opportunities for a person, and the acceptance of social identity provides a sense of confidence and stability, leading to a loss of alternative opportunities as identity decisions are made (Korostelina, 2007). Then the question arises: which social identity to chose and develop or change? People tend to adopt strong social identities that make them feel more secure and confident. Duckitt (1989) argues that authoritarian behaviour can be explained in particular by a strong individual tendency for identification with a dominant social group. In the same vein, people who are less open to new experiences or intolerant are more likely to prefer ascribed identities to acquired ones and feel uncomfortable in situations of multiple choices. Huddy (2001) cites the social identity study conducted by Turner et al. (1984), in which participants were either assigned to or could choose being in one of two teams competing in a problem-solving exercise. Members of winning teams indicated higher self-esteem and cohesion when they had been assigned to the team. But members who voluntarily chose their teams were more likely to report high self-esteem and group cohesion when they had lost, suggesting a stronger sense of group commitment when identity is acquired than when it is ascribed. Korostelina (2007) supports this view by suggesting that acquired social identities have a greater impact on a person's behaviour than ascribed ones. In many cases, people who adopt new religious, ethnic or national identities show stronger devotion to in-group beliefs, values and norms than people with ascribed identities. Hence, an acquired identity can completely change the structure of the social identity system: it can become the most salient identity, replacing other core identities and modifying their meanings. Any changes in social environments or in-group relations will have a lesser impact on acquired identities than on ascribed ones (Korostelina, 2007).

Cultural identity is the interface between the person and the cultural context (Bhatia & Ram, 2001), that is, cultural identity refers to specific values, ideals and beliefs (e.g., individualism, collectivism, family coherence) adopted from a given cultural group, as well as to one's feelings about belonging to that group as a sense of solidarity (Jensen, 2003). Acculturation represents changes in one's cultural identity. When immigrant people come into contact with a new majority community, changes occur in their cultural identity such as in core beliefs, in linguistic preferences, in ideals, values, and behaviours, all of which show how immigrant people form, revise, and maintain their identity, either through imitation and identification or through exploration and construction. In collectivist cultures,

identity formation is constructed by imitation and identification, whereas individuals adopt identities through processes characterized by imitation and identification or by exploration, construction, and experience (Serafini & Adams, 2002).

As a consequence of both immigrant minority and regional minority groups experiencing low social status and discrimination, the terms ethnicity and ethnic identity have become the most important aspect in identity literature. Although there are conceptual similarities between ethnic identity and cultural identity, cultural identity is broader and more encompassing (Jensen, 2003; Phinney et al. 2001), while ethnic identity is to do rather with (and has been defined as) the subjective meaning of one's ethnicity and the feelings that one maintains toward one's ethnic group (Phinney, 1992; Roberts et al. 1999).

The concept of ethnic identity often refers to the identity of ethnic minority groups in a particular nation-state and emphasizes the "othering" (positioning as 'others') of the ethnic minority by the majority group, or its "otherness" (its being different) in comparison with the majority of inhabitants of that nation-state. The awareness of ethnic identity amongst majority group members often increases in contexts where the ethnic identities of minority group members become more visible and manifest. Actually, it is impossible to speak of ethnic identity without reference to the ethnic identities of other minority and majority groups, or to national identity at large (Extra & Yagmur, 2004). As immigrants are exposed to a dissimilar ethnicity, different levels of self-identification and feelings of belonging - either to culture and values of ancestry or to the host society- develop (Constant et al. 2006).

Ethnic identity and ethnic identification are two distinct, but closely related concepts; Ethnic identity refers to self-categorization in the meaning of emotional allegiance to a particular group, especially if people feel that their identity is threatened, while ethnic identification refers to the concept of self-esteem. People's self-esteem can be positively or negatively influenced by identification with a particular group. Therefore, self-identification has stronger implications for people than self-categorization.

Korostelina (2007) describes identification as a permanent, incomplete, and open process of socialization which is determined by culture and social reality. It prompts one to search actively and independently for one's own personality and strengthens the subjective (emotional and cognitive) component in the formation of self-conception. As soon as a people recognize similarities in perception and evaluation of the world with other group members, they feel a stronger positive emotional connection with the group (Korostelina, 2007). Verkuyten (2004) offers the terms "as" and "with" to distinguish between identifications in a particular group. The identification using "as" refers to distinctness between persons and positions in a society, while the identification using "with" refers to allegiance to a

particular group. Self-categorization is always context-dependent. It makes people conceive of themselves as group members rather than individuals. As a consequence, people with a similar self-categorization will behave accordingly and will stress their distinctiveness from outsiders.

Volkan (1997) describes individual identity as a garment that belongs only to the individual who wears it and that, among other things, protects him or her from harmful effects of the environment. But every individual who belongs to an ethnic group also has a group identity. Group identity is like a large canvas tent that protects individuals as if they were all members of the same family. As long as the tent remains strong and stable, held erect by the leader, the members of the group do not pay much attention to it - that is, they do not have the need to constantly prove or express their ethnic identity. If the tent is shaken or disturbed, however, those who are under it will become collectively preoccupied with trying "to shore it up" again. Group identity supersedes individual identities and may become a matter of major concern (Volkan, 1997). Hence, ethnic minority people commonly show a stronger identification with their own group than with the mainstream group (Extra & Yagmur, 2004). Stronger self-identification often goes together with feelings of pride and satisfaction, referred to as self-esteem. Ethnic minorities often tend to stress the positive value of their ethnic background in order to avert negative stereotypes and discrimination. In addition, ethnic minorities often have a rich history, culture, and tradition, all of which may function as sources of positive ethnic self-esteem.

Considering the multiplicity of the concept of identity, in particular in a multicultural context of migration and minorisation, there is an increasing need for a multidisciplinary approach and for balanced and complementary perspectives, linking individuals and groups, including societies at large (Verkuyten, 2004: 18-22). In this context, Verkuyten (2004: 18-22) proposes a model on the concept of identity consisting of three levels, namely the individual, interactional, and societal levels. The first level involves intra-individual processes and personal characteristics which are studied in terms of the person's self-perception and self-understanding. The interactive level emphasises the emergence and maintenance of identity in terms of the dynamics of concrete and everyday inter-individual contacts in many different situations. The societal level focuses on macro-political and historical developments which are studied in terms of political, ideological, cultural, and economic features (Verkuyten, 2004). The assumption underlying this model is that society and individual influence each other indirectly. While the level of interaction functions as a mediator, the different levels cannot be reduced to each other, and the model allows for a systematic conceptualization and investigation of the interrelationships and influences among the three levels.

## 2.3 Language maintenance and shift

Language is one of the most important symbols and determinants of ethnic identity (Fishman, 1965). According to Fishman, it cannot be discussed without considering three key elements: paternity as the meaning of biological descent, ancestry and roots; patrimony as the meaning of cultural heritage, and phenomenology as the meaning of a metaconcept for speaking about paternity and patrimony. Fishman (1977: 19) considers language as the recorder of paternity, the expresser of patrimony and the carrier of phenomenology:

> *Language is taken as a biological inheritance that its association with ethnic paternity is both frequent and powerful. It is "acquired with the mother's milk." It is not only shaped by the inherited organism of speech but shapes the mind and the mental process. Language is not only the conveyor of other ethnic symbols. It is not even merely an ethnic symbol in and of itself. It is 'flesh of the flesh and blood of the blood' and, therefore, all the more powerful as a conveyor and as a symbol, well worth living and dying for.*

Language attrition is conceived of as a movement along a continuum ranging from language maintenance to language loss in a number of domains such as work, school and home. The changing process occurs gradually or more rapidly, sometimes taking many years or generations. Considering the importance of language to individuals and to cultural groups, there are two major questions to be answered: What factors and mechanisms determine an individual's or community's behaviour in relation to language loss or maintenance? And what factors reduce the functions of a language in such a way that speakers become less proficient, leading to language loss? Research indicates that there is a multiplicity of factors influencing the maintenance or loss of a community language, both for an individual speaker and for a community of speakers.

Hyltenstam & Stroud (1996) suggest that an individual's maintenance of a first language in a second language environment is usually referred to as language retention. Accordingly, language maintenance refers to a speech community's use of its first language in multilingual environments. Clyne (1986) identifies language attrition as 'deterioration' of specific language skills. Because of dominant use of the second language in a number of domains such as home, school and work, language attrition in the first language in terms of code switching and mixing is inevitable. When communication difficulties in the first language become more serious, this is referred to as language loss. Jaspaert & Kroon (1989) define language loss as a form of language change causing potential communication problem between individuals and the community of which they consider themselves as a member. With regard to speech communities, Richards et al. (1985) define language shift as a change from the use of one language to the use of

another language. In this context, language attrition is referred to as an intragenerational phenomenon and language shift as an intergenerational phenomenon. Yagmur (1997) argues that the term 'intragenerational' implies that the loss of linguistic skills takes place within individuals over a more or less extended period of time mainly because of a break in the linguistic tradition, while the term 'intergenerational' implies language shift as a process in which a second language takes over the first language in most of the language use domains. Because some forms of the language were not available to succeeding generations in the acquisition process and many other forms were not acquired fully, language attrition applies to a first generation only and language shift includes second and following generations (Yagmur, 1997).

Hyltenstam & Stroud (1996) examine the factors related to language maintenance and loss; at the societal level in terms of host societies' policies and attitudes towards minority groups, at the group level in terms of minority groups' internal characteristics and the type of interaction between majority and minority groups, and at the individual level in terms of language choice and socialization. Given the importance of mainstream society's policies and attitudes towards minorities, they argue that 'a minority group that possesses a publicly stigmatized identity, that has few legislative means at its disposal with which to secure its interests, that lives in a society characterized by an assimilatory ideology, and that is disadvantaged in relation to the majority with respect to economic and educational resources, could be expected to be less likely to maintain its language over time' (Hyltenstam & Stroud, 1996).

These factors may be clear-cut in that they are always either favourable or detrimental to language maintenance, or they may be ambivalent (Kloss, 1966). Clyne (2004) evaluates Kloss's ambivalent factors model in the way that it identifies (group and individual) factors promoting language maintenance or shift and factors that are ambivalent in that they can promote either language maintenance or language shift. The ambivalent factors model is thus measurable, enables the identification of factors operative in a particular community and lends itself to comparison between communities and societies. Clyne also stresses that Kloss's model is context-dependent. Cultural differences between two or more cultural groups function as clear-cut factors. The greater the distance between the community culture and the mainstream culture, the greater the language maintenance on the part of the minority group (Clyne, 1991, 2004). In the same vein, as the cultures involved are more similar there is a more of a tendency towards majority language use. In the Australian context, for instance, German and Dutch immigrants, who culturally have much in common with the English-dominant community, show a greater shift towards English than do Italian and Greek immigrants, who experience a greater cultural difference (Clyne, 1982). The type of marriage patterns (endogamous or exogamous) encountered is another

important clear-cut variable in language maintenance and shift studies. When members of a minority language group marry members of another ethnolinguistic group, the most prestigious language is likely to become dominant in domestic domains. Ambivalent factors are those which may result in different outcomes depending on other conditions and circumstances operating. Kloss considers education as an example of ambivalent factors that will either lead to language maintenance or to language loss. A higher educational standard may provide an individual with high proficiency in the community language but it also provides the ability to acquire the majority language in order to take part in the cultural life of the dominant group. Minority people may adopt the majority language as their regular vehicle of communication, often mainly because they expect that speaking that language provides better chances for upward social mobility and economic success (Appel & Muysken, 1987). Presenting oneself as a member of the national majority is felt to help one to acquire jobs and educational facilities. Appel & Muysken (1987) suggest that minority groups may experience that shift towards the majority language does not always imply better chances for educational achievement and upward social mobility. A group may give away its language without getting any socio-economic advantages in return. It may no longer be discriminated against because of language, but because of other cultural dimensions.

Nevertheless, this might be an overgeneralization for some communities. If group members identify strongly with their community, they may be able to maintain their first language. Secondly, a minority group's internal characteristics may either promote language maintenance or language shift. The type of interaction between minority and majority members is another factor to be considered. Finally, factors at the individual level, such as language use-choice and socialization patterns constitute a third dimension. The combination of these factors varies strongly in different linguistic contexts. Different speech communities or members of these communities behave differently under similar circumstances. Because of social, cultural, historical and religious reasons, different linguistic groups develop different reactions.

Smolicz's (1981) cultural core value theory focuses on symbolic functions. The logic of this theory is that groups have their own particular core values fundamental to those groups and their members' existence. According to Smolicz, language is the core value for some groups such as Greeks, Poles and Chinese while other groups such as Italians and Irish people consider family cohesion and Catholicism as their core values. Clyne (2004) argues that the core value theory has the potential of explaining the language shift differential, but stresses that attitudes do not necessarily correspond to actual language shift.

Foster (1980) emphasizes three factors as being vital for any comprehensive study of minority language situations: history, economics and subjective

components. Edwards agrees with Foster that considerable attention should be paid to economic and pragmatic matters as these are obviously of great importance in the lives of most people. Many apologists for ethnolinguistic diversity rail against economic "reductionism" but analyses of many language movements reveal a powerful economic element (Edwards, 1985).

Although there is general consensus on what factors impact to varying degrees on language shift or maintenance, no instrument capable of assessing language shift adequately on a large scale has yet been devised. The reason for this lies in the difficulty that most factors are complicated by sub-factors and intervening variables. Further, because specifics may vary enormously across different contexts, the same factors may result in different shift rates in different ethnolinguistic communities. Various typologies (Edwards 1992; Kloss, 1968; Conklin & Lourie, 1983; Smolicz, 1981; Bourdieu, 1982) have been proposed to throw more light on this complex phenomenon, but a lot more work still needs to be done to construct a comprehensive and reliable framework. Clyne (2004) suggests that a truly longitudinal study is essential to avoid information on language that is based solely on personal interpretation of one's reminiscences. At the individual level, longitudinal research would involve first establishing through a time log what kind of communication the individual engages in for what amount of time and in what language and compare this with the same assessment at some previous time (Clyne, 2004).

As an alternative approach, a comprehensive cross-national research project including 160,000 primary school children was coordinated by a research team at Tilburg University in the Netherlands (Extra & Yagmur, 2004). The research took place in six major multicultural cities across Europe, i.e., in Göteborg, Hamburg, The Hague, Brussels, Lyon, and Madrid. The participants were asked multiple questions on home language use to describe and compare multiple language profiles of major immigrant minority communities in each of these cities. The questionnaire was made appropriate for all pupils and included a built-in screening question for distinguishing between pupils in whose homes only the mainstream language was used and pupils in whose homes one or more other languages next to or instead of this language were used. In the latter case, a home language profile was specified. This language profile consists of four dimensions, based on reported language proficiency, language choice, language dominance, and language preference.

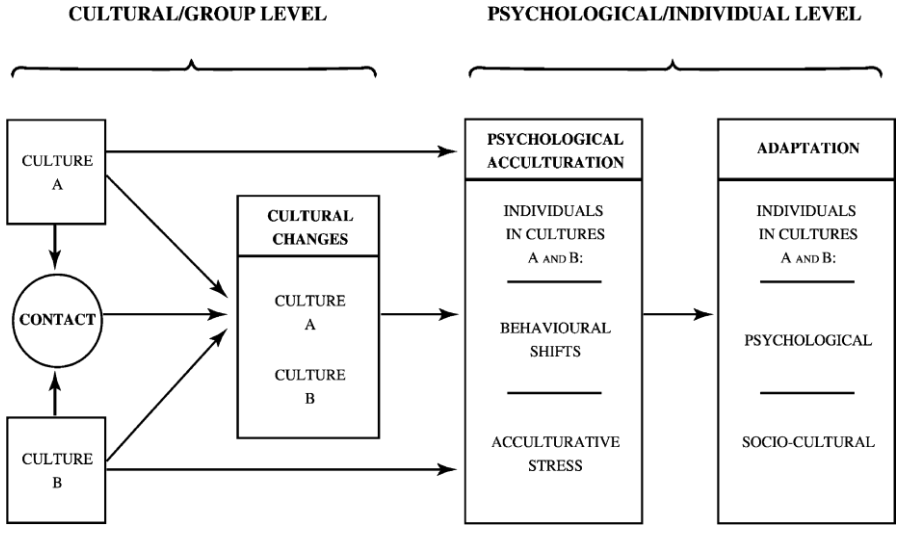
## 2.4 Between -and, within- group differences

The factors involved in language maintenance or shift are generally divided into two categories: those affecting a speech community and those affecting individuals

within a speech community (Kipp et al. 1995). Group factors include the size and distribution of an ethnic group, the policy of the host community towards minority languages, the position of the language within the cultural value system of the group, and the proximity or distance of the minority language to or from the majority language. Birthplace, age, period of residence, gender, education/ qualifications, marriage patterns, prior knowledge of majority language, reason for migration, and language variety are considered to be individual factors (Kipp et al. 1995). However, it is not always easy to draw the line between individual and societal factors as there is an ongoing interaction between the two (Yagmur, 1997).

Graves (1967) introduces the concept of psychological acculturation, which focuses on the changes in individuals who are influenced by both an external culture and the culture of their own group. Groups of people and their individual members may have different acculturation strategies and goals in intercultural contacts. Berry (1980) defines these acculturation strategies as attitudes (individual preferences) and behaviours (a person's actual activities). Acculturation is the dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members. At the group level, acculturation involves changes in social structures and institutions and in cultural practices. At the individual level, it involves changes in a person's behavioural repertoire (Berry, 2005).

Figure 2.3: Berry's framework for understanding acculturation



The social identity theory introduced by Tajfel & Turner (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and the self-categorization theory by Turner et al. (1987) enhanced studies over diverse groups in different contexts. Tajfel & Turner, and Turner et al. identified social identity as being a powerful ingredient in the development of in-group bias and intergroup conflict.

Both social identity theory and self-categorization theory concentrate on the cognitive factors that promote categorization of oneself as a group member, and psychological motivations that lead group members either to hold or shed their group membership. Group boundaries are key elements to define group membership and shape the adoption of group identity. Researchers suggest that the salience of one's group membership is the sole determinant of identity. When the group is salient, group identity is paramount. When group membership is not salient, individual identity dominates (Huddy, 2001). Members of low-status groups who cannot elevate the importance of positive in-group characteristics are most likely either to deny their group membership or to identify with an alternative higher status group. In contrast, individuals who express antipathy to the external group are more likely to maintain their group identity. Huddy (2001) argues that groups also differ in the extent to which they allow individuals the freedom to acquire or discard a group identity. Both a group's permeability and the degree of ambiguity surrounding group membership are likely to influence identity acquisition.

Individualism and collectivism are put forward as constituting characterising systematic properties of cultural groups. Individualism is thought to characterize western cultures, while collectivism is thought to characterize non-western cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Collectivism, interdependence and related cultural orientations (e.g., familism, filiar piety, and communalism) would be expected to cluster with heritage-culture orientation and attachment, while individualism and independence would be expected to cluster with receiving-culture orientation and attachment (Schwartz et al. 2008). People in individualist communities are assumed to prefer being separate from others and taking responsibility for their own decisions and behaviours. By contrast, people in collectivist communities are supposed to have stronger tendencies towards safe (guarding) the well-being of the group and family they belong to. Triandis (1988, 2001) suggests that some countries such as China, Japan and southern Italy show collectivist culture characteristics whereas Northern/Western countries like Canada, and the USA are examples of more individualist cultures. Schwartz et al. (2006) argue that because most immigrants to Western countries come from nations and cultural backgrounds characterized as primarily collectivist, an increase in emphasizing personal identity is assumed to occur following immigration.

Triandis's categorization has been criticized for two reasons. It fails to reflect actual differences within and between cultural groups and it oversimplifies the role

of variables which motivate individual people to constrain themselves into group boundaries or to emphasize their personal identity. Individuals from diasporic groups or religious-based cultural backgrounds may be less willing to emphasize individualism and personal identity, and may resist change because of perceived expectations from the enclave or religious community (Martin & Paolillo, 1997).

## 2.5 Intergenerational differences in language use

Family life dealing with individuals within the family and the relationships between them has received a great deal of attention in the last few decades. Berry et al. (2006) suggest that parents and children have different views of the parent-adolescent relationships during acculturation: "Parents have higher scores on a measure of family obligations (e.g., responsibility for various chores) than do their adolescent children; In sharp contrast to this, immigrant youth show higher scores on a scale of adolescent rights (e.g., independence in dating) than their parents; however, the differences between parents and adolescents in their views about family obligations varied according to which acculturation profile the young generation were in: with those in the national profile (i.e., preferring assimilation, having a stronger national identity and having more national friends) there were greater discrepancies between their views and those of their parents" (Berry et al. 2006).

Intergenerational variation is particularly visible in language use-choice behaviour of individuals. Younger people differ from their parents in aiming for a higher social and economic status. They regard proficiency in the majority language as a prerequisite for achieving this goal.

First language attrition is defined as the gradual loss of competence in a given language. It is generally agreed that 'changes in language use' are identified as language shift, and 'changes in language proficiency' are identified as language loss (Fase, Jaspaert & Kroon, 1992). Furthermore, language shift is located between generations (intergenerational), while attrition occurs within individuals (intragenerational) (Yagmur, 2004). An examination of Gonzo & Saltarelli's (1983) long-standing cascade model is helpful in differentiating between 'language attrition' and 'language shift' (see Chapter 1 for earlier explanation). Fishman (1991) evaluates a number of linguistic contexts and argues that unless the minority language is an indigenous one, shift to the majority language is almost irreversible. Fishman claims that when parents stop speaking the ancestral language with their children, it becomes almost impossible to reverse the ensuing language shift.

In line with the cascade model, Appel & Muysken (1987) describe the general pattern of language shift in immigrant groups as follows. The first generation (born in the country of origin) is bilingual, but the minority language is clearly dominant,

the second generation is bilingual and either of the two languages may be stronger, the third generation is bilingual with the majority language dominating and the fourth generation only has command of the majority language. First-generation immigrants use the first language as they are more proficient in it than in the second language, and they also look upon the first language as being the most important component of their cultural identity. As a result, the first language is used as the medium of communication within the household. When children go to school and become more proficient in the majority language, this language finds its place in family domains. Extra & Yagmur (2004) stress two strategies which are commonly referred to as determining language transmission in the private and public domain, i.e., intergenerational transmission at home and language teaching at school. It has been reported that even prestigious languages like English are lost in a second language environment. Clyne (2004) argues that while intergenerational language shift constitutes a change of behaviour, the difference between first and second generation use of the first language can be attributed either to language shift in that generation or to non-transmission of the first language to the next generation.

In his research in Sydney, Yagmur (1997) found an increase in the language shift rate among second-generation Turkish immigrants. In his case studies on fifteen third-generation Greek-Australians, Katsikis (1997) found that nine of them believed that their ethnic identity could survive without the Greek language, four were not sure and only two believed that it could not. Katsikis found contrasts between this result and his earlier research on second-generation immigrants (1993). Katsikis evaluates this contrast and concludes that unlike third-generation Greek-Australians, second-generation Greek-Australians perceive the Greek language as a core value of their family cohesion and use the language to honour their parents.

In their study across three pluricentric language communities (Arabic, Chinese and Spanish), Clyne & Kipp (1999) found that those under the age of thirty-five (and especially those in the second generation) were far less committed to the position of language being central to their culture than were the older first generation, and that the main function of community language use among the second generation was symbolic rather than communicative.

Another project on similarities and differences in family structure and function and on some of their psychological correlates was conducted in thirty countries by Georgas et al. (2006). Berry (2005), evaluates this study as demonstrating both variations in family functioning linked to their ecological contexts (e.g., reliance on agriculture, general affluence) and variation due to their socio-political contexts (e.g., education, religion). Berry (2005: 710) concluded the following: "*In general, family arrangements are hierarchical and extended, and they have more conservative values (including interdependence) in high agrarian and low affluence societies, and with Orthodox*

*Christian or Islamic religions. In contrast, families high in affluence and education, and with a protestant religious tradition are more nuclear, less hierarchical, and exhibit more independence*."

Even though intergenerational differences are known to affect first language use, the extent of language shift observed between generations is closely connected to group characteristics. Regardless of the policies pursued by the host society, minority groups with high ethnolinguistic vitality may resist assimilation by setting up their own ethnic institutions. In the present research project, two generations of Turkish immigrants were targeted to test Gonzo & Saltarelli's cascade model.

## 2.6 Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory

The Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (EVT) developed by Giles et al. (1977) was used in this research project in Germany. The most characteristic aspect of EVT is that it offers a socio-psychological approach to the relationship between language and identity. The vitality of an ethnolinguistic group was defined as 'that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations' (Giles et al. 1977: 308). The model basically claims that the vitality perceptions of an ethnolinguistic group will affect the group members' language use and their social integration patterns (Bourhis, 2001; Allard & Landry, 1986; Kraemer et al. 1994; Yagmur, 1997).

Giles et al.'s EVT was derived from Tajfel's (1974) intergroup relations theory. Tajfel claims that groups in contact compare themselves with other groups and want to see their own group as distinct and positively valued. Tajfel's theory of intergroup relations involves social categorization, social identity, social comparison and psychological distinctiveness. Tajfel suggests that intergroup social comparisons induce individuals to perceive and act in a manner as to make their own group stand out favourably and psychologically distinct from other groups. Social identity only acquires meaning by comparison with other groups, and it is suggested that individuals have a desire to belong to groups which give them satisfaction and pride through membership (Tajfel, 1981). According to self-categorization theory, individuals are more likely to think of themselves as members of social groups under conditions in which the use of a group label maximizes the similarities between oneself and other group members, and heightens one's differences with outsiders (Turner et al. 1987). Brewer & Weber (1994) suggest that one of the key tenets of self-categorization theory is that individuals constantly shift back and forth between an individual and a social identity. In line with Tajfel's intergroup relations theory, Giles & Powesland (1975) propose speech accommodation theory, which examines the relationship between the motivation for adjusting speech styles to express values, attitudes and intentions towards others on the one hand and its consequences on the other. Giles et al. (1977) suggest that to communicate social approval or disapproval, people shift

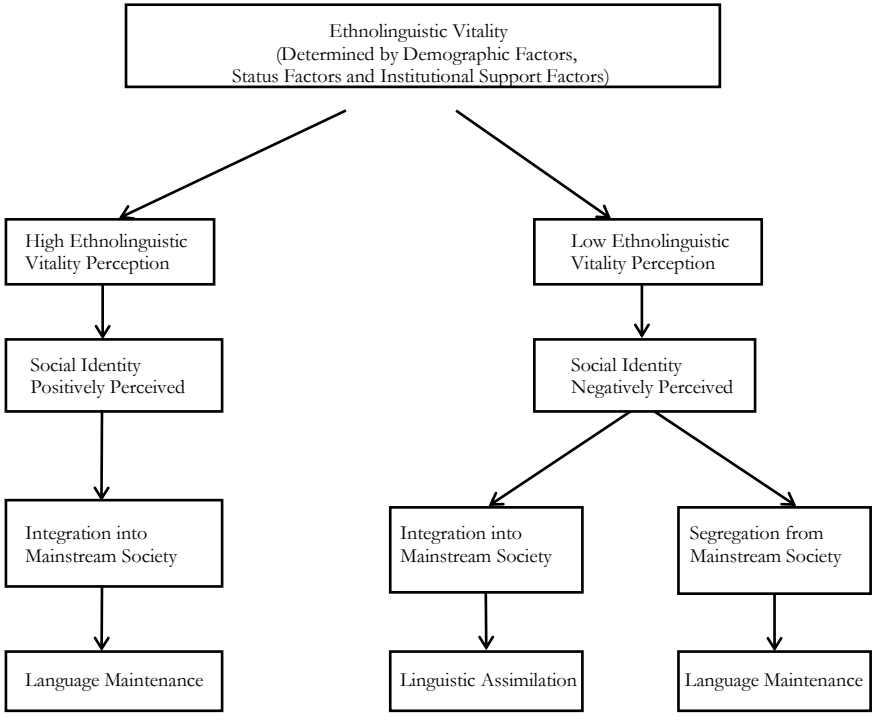
their speech style towards (convergence) or away from (divergence) their interlocutors' speech style. Hence, the importance of speech accommodation theory is that ethnic groups' non-converging speech is an important strategy to maintain their identity and cultural distinctiveness (Yagmur, 1997).

EVT proposes a three-part framework in which demographic factors, status factors and institutional support factors are the major factors contributing to the survivability of an ethnolinguistic group. Status factors are those variables which pertain to a configuration of prestige variables of the ethnolinguistic group in an intergroup context. The more status an ethnolinguistic group is recognized to have, the more 'vitality' it can be said to possess as a collective entity. Demographic factors are those variables that are related to the sheer numbers of group members and their distribution throughout the territory. Ethnolinguistic groups whose demographic trends are favourable are more likely to have vitality compared to groups whose demographic trends are unfavourable and not conducive to group survival. Institutional support variables refer to the extent to which an ethnolinguistic group receives formal and informal representation in the various institutions of a nation, region or community.

Yagmur (1997) evaluates EVT as assuming there is a two-way relationship between social identity and language behaviour; there are sociostructural variables in a given society and those variables interact in shaping groups' ethnolinguistic vitalities. EVT has been criticized for the socio-structural variables used in it being ambiguous and interrelated because vitality group categorizations in terms of 'low' or 'high' are problematic. Husband & Khan (1982) emphasize the importance of factors such as social class, age and gender, which are not incorporated as determinants of ethnolinguistic vitality. Similarly, they claim that institutional support factors are dominated by majority group perspectives and that minority group institutional support factors are being ignored. Extra & Yagmur (2004) support this claim, concurring that EVT underestimates the role of ethnic group institutions in language maintenance efforts. Mainstream institutions may not provide support for language maintenance; indeed they may even encourage language shift. However, ethnic minority groups themselves may set up their own institutions to support language maintenance and to transmit cultural values to next generations. In this research project, primary attention has been paid to Turkish immigrant institutions and organizations in order to document institutional support structures.

Figure 2.4 shows how societal dynamics interact eventually leading either to the maintenance of a first language or to shift to a second language. High ethnolinguistic vitality perception leads to integration into mainstream society and to first language maintenance, while low ethnolinguistic vitality perception leads to integration into mainstream society through assimilation or leads to segregation and first language maintenance.

Figure 2.4: Ethnolinguistic vitality and its influence on language behaviour




Bourhis et al. (1981) claim that group members' subjective vitality perceptions (i.e., their perceptions of the above-mentioned variables involved in this) may be as important as the group's 'objective' vitality. To find out about these subjective perceptions, Bourhis et al. (1981) constructed a *Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire* (SEVQ) to measure how group members actually perceive their own group and out-groups on immigrant vitality factors. Johnson et al. (1983) argue that objective and subjective vitality provide a starting point from which the difficult link between sociological (collective) and psychological (individual) accounts of language, ethnicity and intergroup relations can be explored. Subjective vitality perceptions shape the ethnic group's strategies and manifestations of ethnic identity which are conditioned by the degree of ethnolinguistic vitality of the group. As the mean results of SEVQs correlate with the size of the linguistic communities which are being assessed, the SEVQ actually might measure the perception of the strength of the ethnolinguistic group, where strength can be summarised as the demographic strength of the group, its institutional support and its status, i.e. what

is commonly called objective ethnolinguistic vitality (Ehala, 2011). Consequently, objective and subjective vitality analyses provide us with a socio-psychologically meaningful profile of the community in focus in that we are able to investigate language attitudes, intergroup relations, language-use choice, and language maintenance or shift patterns of this community. The EVT and its accompanying research instrument SEVT are associated with methodological problems in the literature. However, for this research project a number of changes and additions were made in these instruments, derived from earlier research used by Yagmur (1997).

## 2.7 Earlier studies in the German context

In earlier research, integration of Turkish immigrant groups in the German context has been investigated extensively. In these studies, the focus was mostly on acculturation patterns and intergenerational differences between Turkish immigrants, and on insufficient German language proficiency of Turkish pupils and its effects on their educational achievement. Accordingly, discriminatory experiences that Turkish immigrants encounter in their school careers and social life have been studied. A summary of these studies is presented in this section.

### 2.7.1 Acculturation orientations of majority and minority groups

Rohmanna et al. (2006) examined discordant acculturation attitudes of host society members and immigrants in Germany. Integrated threat theory and the concordance model of acculturation were taken as the start point. In this study 202 German majority members and 151 Turkish and Italian immigrants were interviewed. Path analyses revealed that culture discordance and contact discordance contribute independently to the prediction of realistic threat, symbolic threat, and intergroup anxiety for host society members and immigrants. In the same vein, differences in threat between cultures were mediated by the discordance in acculturation attitudes. The research also showed that the same threats that create negative attitudes toward minority groups also create threats toward the majority group. For the host society, there was a predicted immigrant group effect in the sense that Turks were perceived as more threatening than Italians. This difference was mediated by culture discordance and contact discordance. For the immigrants, differences in the perception of threat emerged depending on the culture of origin: Turks perceived more threats from their German hosts than Italians, and again this effect was mediated by culture discordance and contact (Rohmanna et al. 2006).

Zagefka & Brown (2002) examined the impact of acculturation strategy preferences of both immigrants and host society members on intergroup relations.

The participants in their survey were school pupils; 193 of them from the German host society and 128 from immigrant populations, 44 of them of Turkish descent, 40 of them *Aussiedler* of Russian-German descent, and 44 being from various other origins. The participants' desire for culture maintenance and contact were measured in line with Berry's (1997) taxonomy of acculturation strategies. The two dimensions were later combined into one overall strategy preference. The outcomes showed that integration is the preferred strategy for both German host society members and immigrants in Germany. However, 19% of the Germans prefer marginalization, which is the strategy least preferred by the immigrants. Furthermore, whilst the immigrants' perception of the host society's strategy preference was quite accurate, the Germans' perception of the immigrant strategy preference was less so. The significant difference found between the immigrant group's acculturation strategy preference was that while Turkish immigrants almost exclusively opted for integration, Russian-German immigrants preferred integration and assimilation to an equal degree. Zagefka & Brown also concluded that most of the Turks, who were born in Germany but have also been largely influenced by their parental culture, might have developed a truly 'dual' identity, reflected in their preference for integration. The findings make it clear that positive attitudes towards culture maintenance and contact contribute to better intergroup relations, for both the German and the immigrant participants.

Zick et al. (2001) examined the relationship between ethnic attitudes (prejudice and racism) and attitudes towards the acculturation of ethnic minorities as well as intergroup relations within Germany. It was assumed that the prejudice and discrimination on the part of the majority group are closely connected to specific ideologies on acculturation, such as preferences for assimilation or segregation. In line with the assumption outlined above, the argument underlying this prejudice is closely connected to ideologies about the subjectively assumed "best way" that minorities should relate to the culture of the dominant majority. Zick et al. also studied the questions related to the perspective and options of immigrant groups who try to acculturate to German society, and whether the attitudes of minority groups are also related to specific attitudes towards acculturation. In line with the experimental and survey data employed, Zick et al. found that, compared to the attitudes of majority members of other European states, German majority members' acculturation attitudes focus more strongly on assimilation and segregation of immigrants. Minorities appear to prefer integration or assimilation. For the German majority as well as for minorities living in Germany, acculturation attitudes and prejudice proved to be related but different concepts. For the German majority, acculturation attitudes are a better predictor of their behaviour in relation to minorities: the more integrative a majority respondent's acculturation attitudes, the more positive his or her behaviour toward minority members. For minorities, both prejudice and acculturation attitudes help explain acculturation

success: the more positive a minority member's attitude toward the German majority, the more successful his or her acculturation will be. In conclusion, it would be wise to promote the development of an integrative ideology for successful immigration and acculturation. Zick et al. also applied an extended version of Berry's four-field acculturation attitude model to the German context. The model which was developed by Bourhis et al. (1997) and Piontkowski et al. (2000), is used to compare majority and minority acculturation attitudes according to their likelihood of provoking societal conflict. The model showed that in the German context the incongruence of acculturation attitudes may be seen as problematic: The majority mainly favours an assimilation ideology, whereas minorities favour an integrative ideology (Zick et al. 2001).

Florack et al. (2003) examined the influence of affect on the acceptance of cultural diversity in Germany. Two experiments were used: In the first experiment, 61 male university students were asked questions about their attitudes towards Turkish immigrants and their acceptance of cultural diversity. In the high-representativeness condition, participants were asked to think about those aspects of Turkish culture they considered unpleasant and repulsive, and to list some of them. In the low-representativeness condition, participants were asked to think about the aspects of single members or a subgroup of Turkish culture they considered unpleasant and repulsive, and to list some of them. Florack et al. found in an experiment that all participants in the low -and high- representativeness conditions listed aspects of Turks that were of negative valence: There is consistency with the idea that negative affect, when related to a minority, does not necessarily lead to a reduced acceptance of cultural diversity. The acceptance of cultural diversity was higher when negative affect towards unrepresentative exemplars was salient than when the negative affect was perceived as directed at the entire minority culture. In Experiment 2, Florack et al. examined whether the acceptance of cultural diversity is more likely to be affected by salient feelings which are related to a subgroup or single exemplars when the immigrant group is perceived as homogeneous. The participants were 32 university students (4 men and 28 women). The goal of Experiment 2 was to test the hypothesis that the impact of negative feelings triggered by aspects of a subgroup of immigrants on attitudes towards the whole immigrant group depends on the perceived homogeneity of this group. The findings supported this prediction not only for the acceptance of cultural diversity and the self-reported attitude towards the immigrant group, but also for implicitly measured associations. This is in line with the findings of Experiment 1 that the salience of negative feelings does not inevitably lead to a rejection of the immigrant group. Experiment 1 showed that the impact of salient feelings depends on whether or not the feelings are directed at the whole group of immigrants. Experiment 2 showed that feelings directed towards single members or towards a subgroup of immigrants can also affect attitudes

towards the whole group when the group is perceived as homogeneous (Florack et al. 2003).

Bierbrauer & Klinger (2005) interviewed 101 male Turkish immigrants ranging from the age of 15 to 62. The participants were presented with seven conflict scenarios and were asked to describe their preferred way of regulating each of these conflicts. The scenarios outlined disputes that varied along two dimensions. The disputes involved either a confrontation with members of the ethnic in-group (immigrant Turks) or with out-group members (Germans), and portrayed a conflict over either a tangible property (e.g., money) or an intangible property (e.g., family honour). The manipulation along these two dimensions was intended to test whether conflict style systematically varies with both the characteristics of the dispute and the dynamic influence of the acculturation process to which Turks are exposed. Bierbrauer & Klinger found that conflict context characteristics are more powerful predictors of conflict style preferences of immigrant Turks than global or domain-specific acculturation preferences. Roughly 50% of the respondents preferred to handle interpersonal conflicts according to context conditions. Both the type of conflict property and the ethnic group of the opponent had a moderating influence on the way immigrants handle their conflicts. In conflicts over tangible properties, like the Germans, immigrant Turks predominantly employ direct and confrontational styles of conflict regulation that are in accordance with the law. In conflicts over intangible properties, however, immigrant Turks tend to avoid direct confrontations and accusations, and instead prefer a less assertive style of regulating conflicts, because these types of conflicts seem to be more directly linked to the cultural identity of the conflict parties (Taylor, 1991). The relationship between conflict style preferences and acculturation preferences was unexpectedly low. In line with these outcomes, Bierbrauer & Klinger suggest that most immigrant Turks in Germany have sufficient skills and are flexible enough to respond adequately to the demands of a conflict situation. This study has shown that neither general nor domain-specific acculturation preferences can adequately predict conflict style preferences of immigrants in interpersonal conflicts.

### 2.7.2 Intergenerational differences in acculturation

Pfafferott & Brown (2006) suggest that models of acculturation have been developed for the most part with adults in mind, and that it is quite difficult to apply these theories to children and adolescents since they often have not experienced their heritage culture directly but only through their parents and others. Pfafferott & Brown (2006) questioned 134 German adolescents and 281 minority adolescents who were mostly from Turkish background. The age of the informants ranged from 14 to 19 with a mean age of 15.93. Integration was found to be the most common desire among both majority and minority groups. Minority members perceived their parents' desire for culture maintenance as being stronger

than their own, while they perceived their parents' desire for contact as being less than their own. Like minority members, German participants perceived their parents' desire for contact as being less than their own. Thus, Germans perceived their parents' attitudes as leaning more towards assimilation and exclusion than their own. While immigrant children invariably have contacts with host society members in the school context and a certain degree of adaptation to the host society is crucial for success in school and becoming competent members of the society they live in, their parents have more reservations about the different culture of the host society and put more emphasis on maintenance of their own tradition. Pfafferott & Brown suggest that a possible explanation for this can be found in the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954), according to which under certain circumstances, contact between groups may reduce prejudice attitudes.

In their cross-cultural comparative study, Phalet & Schönpflug (2001) focused on cross-cultural commonalities and differences in the intergenerational transmission of values in immigrant families. Their study involved two acculturating groups in two acculturation contexts, 404 Turkish parent-child dyads in Germany being compared with 190 Turkish and Moroccan parent-child dyads in the Netherlands. Phalet & Schönpflug found that the transmission of collectivism was more intense in Turkish than in Moroccan parent-child dyads, due to a closer link between parental collectivism and heightened conformity pressure. The greater goal-directed effort of Turkish parents to transmit collectivistic values of relatedness between generations fits into the expected pattern of lagged or selective acculturation in tightly knit Turkish immigrant families and communities.

### 2.7.3 The role of education in acculturation

Germany has a selective educational system which channels pupils at a very early age towards different types of schools. As a result, many Turkish pupils for whom German is a second language end up with a low level of vocational education. As the educational status of immigrants has turned out to be a good indicator for their integration patterns, a range of studies have been done on this topic.

Riphahn (2003) investigated the educational attainment of German-born children of immigrants. Micro-census surveys were employed to compare the educational success of first-generation immigrant children to that of native German children, with a focus on developments over time. Riphahn found that the educational attainment of immigrant children measured by current enrolment or highest completed school degree is significantly below that of native German children. In spite of the expectation that German educational institutions would show improvement in serving the needs of the growing number of immigrant children in Germany, and considering the increased duration of the integration period since immigration, the achievement gap seems to grow bigger over time. While the attainment of native German children has improved strongly over recent

decades, second-generation immigrant children are not obtaining higher degrees nowadays than they did two decades earlier. Overall, similar findings by Hirschman (2001) for the United States are thus confirmed for the case of Germany as well.

Mueller (2006) suggests that above and beyond the discrimination to which Turkish immigrant children are exposed, there is the accumulation of educational deprivation. Since there are no large-scale initiatives to establish a bilingual educational system or language programs for Turkish-German children and their parents, German is not typically spoken in Turkish communities, which in turn makes it difficult for immigrants to engage in German social life. Most Turkish first-graders do not master German well enough because they are raised in settings where mostly Turkish is spoken (Mueller, 2006).

Wilpert (2004) points out that children from Turkish families more often than others are sent to special schools for children with learning disabilities. Gomolla & Radtke (2002) demonstrate in their empirical study of the elementary school system of the city of Bielefeld how the school organisation uses ethnic difference as a criterion to systematically select these children out of normal classes and into special classes. The authors analysed the logic that is used to make these decisions and illuminate why a number of these processes directly discriminate the children of immigrants (Wilpert, 2004). Accordingly, Wilpert derives from von Below (2003) that being Turkish has a significant effect on the chances of obtaining educational success; in a study of over 3,600 young adults of German, Italian and Turkish origin, the group of young Turkish pupils were under-represented and disadvantaged with respect to the more valued school leaving certificate.

Söhn & Özcan (2006) point out that the educational level attained by the younger Turkish generation has increased compared to the early labour migrant children. The educational disadvantages of migrants in general and Turkish migrants in particular have not yet been studied in detail and in a satisfactory manner, and there is a lack of appropriate data. Söhn & Özcan conclude from a recent study of PISA (Programme on International Student Assessment) that the correlation between parental socio-economic status and children's educational success in Germany is stronger than in any other OECD country. This reproduction (perpetuation) of social inequality by the German educational system pertains to natives and immigrants alike. So far, the German school system has clearly not succeeded in compensating for the disadvantageous social background of Turkish children (Söhn & Özcan, 2006).

The selective German educational system, the low socio-economic and socio-cultural status of Turkish immigrants, and Turkish pupils' poor German language proficiency are the key factors that explain why Turkish pupils are falling behind educationally and why they attend higher education and participate in the socio-cultural life of Germany to a lesser degree than their native German peers.

CHAPTER 3

# The Turkish community in Germany

## 3.1 Historical overview

The history of Turkish migration to Western Europe goes back to the beginning of the 1960s. After the Second World War, industrial European countries started making bilateral agreements with developing countries to solve shortages on their labour markets. After a recruitment agreement between Germany and Turkey was signed on November 30, 1961, Turkish workers were contracted in Germany. During initial migration, mostly male labourers from rural areas across Turkey went to Germany, leaving their families behind. The so-called "guest workers" (*Gasterbeiter* in German) expected (and were expected) to go back to their homeland with some money saved. But for most of them their projected 'temporary' stay turned into permanent residence because of economic and social reasons, and eventually other members of their families joined them in Germany. On May 20, 1964, a protocol between Turkey and Federal Germany was signed to deal with the conflicts arising during the implementation of employment agreements. This new protocol gave Turkish immigrants new facilities and rights. At the beginning of the migration period, Turkish immigrants were not required to have any educational qualifications. After 1964, the German authorities required a vocational training diploma for any immigrant visa application, as a result of which there was a lift in the educational standards of Turkish immigrants in Germany.

In Germany, authority is shared between the central government and the federal states (*Bundesländer*). Amendments in 1965 to the *ius sanguinis* (law of blood)-based 1938 Law gave local authorities control over the duration of immigrant workers' contracts. Subsequently, local authorities were persuaded by employers to support them in their wish to hold on to their current employees instead of having to enter into contracts with new arrivals.

After the oil crisis had caused a sharp decline in demand for labour in 1973, the German government banned the recruitment of immigrant workers from outside the European Union. One of the unexpected consequences of this policy of excluding non-EU workers from entering Germany was that it turned migrant labourers into long-term residents (Kolinsky, 1996). Despite this attempt to limit

migration, the number of Turkish immigrants continued to grow through family reunification, births and marriages with partners from Turkey.

Between 1980 and 1984 the Turkish population in Germany also grew as a result of Turkish asylum-seekers entering the country, fleeing from the military regime in power in Turkey at the time. Article 16 of the German Constitution made it possible for them to stay in Germany. The motivation for including this Article into the Constitution was the will of Germany to distance itself from its Nazi-past, which had caused the loss of millions of lives. Political refugees seized the opportunity in large numbers. In 1980, 50% of the asylum-seekers entering Germany originated from Turkey (Joppke, 1999). Following the considerable influx of political refugees, Article 16 was amended, severely restricting the right to asylum, which led to a sharp decrease in asylum applications from non-EU countries.

Germany pursued an active remigration policy in 1983 and 1984 by offering immigrants monetary support if they would leave Germany permanently. As a result, the number of Turkish immigrants living in Germany decreased, and more than 200,000 Turks left Germany in 1984 (Euwals et al. 2007). In the subsequent years, however, immigration started to increase again. The reality that most Turkish workers opted for living in Germany and actually became residents led German policy makers to draw up new measures to facilitate their integration. During the past decade, job training programs and German language programs were set up (Doomernik, 1998). Legislation in 1993 allowed first-generation immigrants to acquire German nationality after fifteen years of residence (eight years for second-generation immigrants). Although this was a first step to an *ius soli* policy, which would grant many facilities to immigrants, not many Turks applied for German nationality because of bureaucratic difficulties and a desire to keep their Turkish nationality. Many tried to overcome Germany's dual nationality obstacles by officially abandoning their Turkish nationality, becoming German nationals and then reapplying for Turkish nationality. In effect, this came down to having dual nationality, but the Kohl government put an end to this practice in 1997 (Mueller, 2006).

New legislation, which was implemented on January 1, 2000, allowed foreign children born in Germany to obtain German nationality automatically. The law also included some amendments for first and second-generation immigrants by reducing the period of time needed to acquire nationality. More than 550,000 Turkish immigrants acquired German nationality by naturalization between 1999 and 2003 (International Migration Review, 2010).

Today, Turkish immigrants take part in many domains of German society. New generations are more capable of using both Turkish and German. Gogolin (1994) reported that among Turkish children in Germany, Turkish has fairly high prestige. Furthermore, she reported that Turkish has a high status also among non-Turkish

background students as a language of communication. Support factors such as Turkish institutions, foundations, mosques, bookshops and mass media also contribute to the maintenance of Turkish. Turkish local papers and major Turkish newspapers printed in Germany are accessible to Turkish immigrants. Cable and satellite-dish facilities make it possible for the Turkish community to receive tens of Turkish TV channels which provide a wide-range social network for Turkish immigrants.

Although most Turkish immigrants have strong ties with their relatives in Turkey and visit them at least once every year, they see Germany as their new homeland. As Şen (2002), the director of the Centre for Turkish Studies (*Zentrum für Turkeistudien*) in Essen, points out, today it can no longer be assumed that Turkish immigrants in Germany ultimately wish to return home. Second- and third-generation Turkish immigrants definitely plan to settle permanently in Germany. According to Şen, the second generation is commonly better integrated than the first. The first generation, now approaching retirement age, has for the main part been unable to overcome integration difficulties in spite of all efforts. This is essentially due to their poor command of German and strong bonds with their homeland (Şen, 2002).

## 3.2 Demographic status

Turks are the largest minority group resident in Germany. In 2005, the number of residents of Turkish origin was approximately 2,812,000 comprising 3.5% of Germany's population. Among them some 840,000 Turkish immigrants held German nationality. Since then, approximately 75,000 nationals have been added to this number each year. In 2010, the German Embassy to Turkey said that there are 3.5 million people of Turkish origin living in Germany and that a further 3 million Turks have spent part of their lives in Germany. Other estimates suggest that there are now over 4 million Turks and German nationals with partial or full Turkish ancestry in Germany, making up about 5% of Germany's total population.

Turkish immigrants are concentrated mostly in North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW). There are currently around 1.1 million Turkish immigrants residing in NRW comprising 5% of this state's population and making up 32% of the total number of Turkish immigrants in Germany. Köln and Düsseldorf in NRW are the largest residential places for foreigners. The largest groups after the Turkish immigrants in Köln are the Iranian, the Egyptian, the Bulgarian, the American and the French immigrants respectively; in Düsseldorf, these are the Japanese, the Macedonian, the Korean, the Moroccan and the Greek immigrants respectively.

The Federal Statistics Office, called *Statistisches Bundesamt*, *Destatis* for short, uses nationality criteria in their population statistics. As Turks who have been

naturalized in Germany are counted as German nationals, it is almost impossible to obtain data on the total population of Turkish descent. Hence, official German statistics do not reflect the actual number of Turkish immigrants, and the numbers in Table 3.1 should be interpreted as reflecting those holding Turkish nationality only in the year 2004.

Table 3.1: Number of foreigners in Germany

| Gender | General | Foreigners | Turks |
|---|---|---|---|
| Male | 40,353,600 | 3,493,799 | 937,581 |
| Female | 42,147,200 | 3,262,012 | 826,640 |
| Total | 82,500,800 | 6,755,811 | 1,764,041 |

Source: Federal Statistics Bureau (2005)

## 3.3 German integration and naturalization policies

In Germany, the 1938 nationality law shaped nationality policy until the beginning of the 1990s. According to this ethnicity-based law, ethnic origin was the prime criterion for German nationality. Ethnist ideology laws based on *ius sanguinis* were implemented by successive German governments. The naturalization policy made it difficult for immigrants who had no German ancestors to acquire German nationality, while people from Eastern European states who had fled from their countries after the Second World War acquired German nationality easily on the basis of German ancestry.

Not until the late 1980s did the concept of a multicultural society begin to appear in German political discourse. But the recognition of multiculturalism was not intended to recast the German concept of 'nation' or to produce a new blueprint for socio-cultural change. It was basically a question of semantics: foreigners were no longer *Gasterbeiter* but in reality had become unwanted immigrants (Ahlers, 1996).

The unification of East and West Germany in 1990 fuelled xenophobic violence against foreigners and particularly against Turks. In contrast to what might be expected from a socialist regime, East Germany showed little tolerance towards foreigners and tried to establish a culturally homogenous society. From December 1990 onwards, acts of violence against individuals of foreign appearance soared; asylum-seekers and former contract workers were caught between dismissal and deportation in East Germany (Kolinsky, 1996). Following German unification, xenophobic violence against Turks flared up in 1991. German policy makers' negligent lack of attention to racist violence finally resulted in Turkish immigrants being killed in racist attacks. An arson attack in Mölln in November 1992 and another one the next year in Solingen claimed the lives of two Turkish mothers and

their six children. It was then that German people started to realize the consequences of xenophobic violence and protested against it by taking sides with Turkish marchers. German policy makers acknowledged that racism had become a serious problem for the country and introduced strict rules to end racist attacks.

Although Germany had become the largest country of destination for immigrants in Europe, German decision makers still claimed that "Germany is not an immigrant country", which precluded the initiation of integration policies. Yet, states change their policies and attitudes towards immigrants prompted by the effects of social conditions and dynamics. While treated as sacrosanct, particularly by conservatives during the 1990s, progressive politicians in civil society, grassroots citizens' initiatives and the liberal media increasingly contested the *ius sanguinis* principle (Ehrkamp & Leitner, 2003). Legislation was passed in 1993 allowing first-generation immigrants to acquire German nationality after a residency period of 15 years (8 years of residency period for second-generation immigrants). Although it may have been the first step towards a *ius soli* policy (law of ground), it was the coalition of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the Greens, following the 1998 German National Elections, that had a decisive impact on integration and naturalization policies through the promotion of new concepts of nationality rights. The cry had now become "Germany needs immigration". The new government's approach towards immigrants and towards naturalization policies based on the *ius soli* principle faced a counter-campaign from the Conservative Party (CDU). After fiercely contested debates in the media, the general public and, among politicians, the German Parliament finally approved a new nationality law in 1999 that was more restrictive than the proposal originally put forward by the SPD (Ehrkamp & Leitner, 2003).

With the implementation of new legislation on January 1, 2000, foreign children born in Germany obtain German nationality automatically, provided that one parent has lived legally in Germany for 8 years and has held a residence permit of unlimited stay for at least 3 years. Children also now have the right to acquire their parents' nationality but at the age of 23 they have to choose the nationality they prefer to hold. The law also reduced the necessary residency period of the first generation from 15 to 8 years to acquire nationality with certain prerequisites, which included being in possession of a residence permit, having sufficient knowledge of the German language, signing a written pledge to the German Constitution and being able to earn a livelihood without taking recourse to government welfare.

The German parliament passed the modified Immigration Law in July 2004, which came into force in January of 2005. Another crucial institutional change took place in 2004: the reorganization of the Federal Office for the Recognition of Foreign Refugees into a central authority for migration and integration. Another step that was taken towards a better integration of immigrants: 600 hours of

German language lessons and 30 hours of German history and culture were made compulsory for new arrivals from 2005.

Even though paradigmatic changes relating to immigrants and foreigners have occurred in Germany since the year 2000, it is still hard to categorize the country as a multicultural society. Integration presupposes that a society is open and characterized by tolerance of divergent life styles. In order for it to work, there should be a collective experience and acceptance of multiculturalism. According to Mueller (2006), this condition does not prevail in present-day Germany. German policy makers are faced with a dilemma. On the one hand, German public opinion emphasized that there are too many foreigners living in Germany. Surveys show that more than 50% of German native people feel this way (*Spiegel*, 26 January, 2009). On the other hand, with the low birth rate and an ageing population, immigration has become an essential element of the German economy and its pension system. Mueller (2006) argues that in order to achieve population stability, the live birth rate per female which is 1.3 now should be raised to 2.1. Germany approved green card legislation to attract highly skilled immigrants to Germany in order to fill the gap particularly in electronic and communication technology businesses. As the contracts are limited to a duration of 5 years and spouses are not allowed to stay in Germany, the green card initiative will hardly attract highly skilled professionals to the country.

## 3.4 Education in Germany

According to Article 7 of the Basic legislation of the German Federal Republic, all schools are under the supervision of the state. Because of the federal structure of Germany, federal states share the authority over educational matters. They are responsible for pre-school-, general- and vocational education. As a result of this, school types and systems may differ from one federal state to the other. To overcome problems arising from differences between federal states, the so-called Hamburg agreement was introduced (1971), under which "the Federal Culture Ministers' Permanent Conference" has been formed. This conference rules on such issues as compulsory education, organisational structures and diploma evaluations.

*Kindergarten* education is not compulsory in Germany. Children can go to kindergarten from at the age of three. Since 1996, children at this age have the right to attend a kindergarten until they start primary school at the age of six. *Primary schools* cover the first four years (in Berlin and Brandenburg they cover six years) and prepare children for secondary education. Classes 5 and 6 constitute an orientation stage for pupils to find out what secondary education suits them best and they are either part of the various secondary schools or separated from them in

order to stimulate pupils and to enable parents to decide what type of secondary education they wish to choose for their children.

After primary school, pupils attend *secondary general school*. Secondary general school covers classes 5 to 9 and in most federal states voluntary participation in class 10 is possible. Secondary general schools provide general education as a basis for practical vocational training. *Intermediate schools* are also secondary schools covering classes from 5 to 10 or from 7 to 10. The final certificate awarded by these schools in general provides the basis for training in all types of medium-level occupation. It also qualifies holders for admission to vocational trade schools, specialized grammar schools or grammar schools with classes from age 11 to 13 only. Intermediate schools provide extended general education.

*Grammar schools* are secondary schools that last for 8 to 9 years (classes 5 to 12 or 13) or 7 years (classes 7 to 13). The final certificate awarded by grammar schools qualifies its holder for studies at all institutions of higher education. Comprehensive schools combine the different type of secondary schools in various organisational and curricular forms. *Specialised grammar schools* are oriented towards occupations. They accept pupils who have earned an intermediate school certificate or an equivalent certificate. The final certificate awarded after three years (classes 11 to 13) qualifies its holder for studies at all institutions of higher education.

*Special schools* apply special teaching concepts which meet the special needs of children and adolescents with handicaps. There is a *Basic vocational training year*, in which full-time or part-time classes provide basic general knowledge and basic vocational knowledge relating to a certain occupational field. *Dual vocational training* provides education and training at two places of learning: in companies and in part-time vocational schools. This is the main type of vocational training in Germany. More than 69% of any age-group of pupils in secondary schools is involved in dual vocational training. Training in individual occupations is governed by training directives. *Vocational trade schools* require an intermediate school certificate for admission or a recognized equivalent certificate. Full-time attendance is required for at least one year, followed by part-time attendance for up to three years.

*Trade* and *technical schools* provide voluntary additional training after vocational training has been completed and practical work experience gained, in some cases even after many years of practical work, or on proof of special ability. These schools provide advanced vocational training. Other vocational and special schools are *Full-time vocational schools, Vocational extension schools, Schools for nurses, Colleges of arts and music, Colleges of theology,* and *Colleges of education.*

Universities are traditional places of higher education in Germany. They are autonomous federal institutions. Universities combine teaching and research, and they have the right to award doctor's degrees. They also provide courses on a broad range of study subjects (resource: Federal Ministry of Education and Research, 2004).

### 3.4.1 Turkish pupils at German schools

For immigrant minorities, education is a key factor in opening up access to the host society's social and economic domains. Hence, the educational status of Turkish immigrants provides a good indicator for integration patterns. In the school year 2004-2005, there were around 520,000 Turkish students in the German education system: 185,326 pupils attending *primary schools (Grundschule),* 96,144 attending *basic general schools (Hauptschule),* 38,787 in *secondary vocational schools (Realschule),* 34,361 pupils in *Intermediate schools (Gymnasium)* and 78,051 pupils attending different *vocational schools* (Source: Turkish Education Consulate to Germany, 2005).

The main reasons for Turkish pupils' lower levels of schooling compared to German pupils lie in the selective German educational system and the low socio-economic status of Turkish immigrants. The German education system channels pupils at a very early age towards one of three different roads: The *Hauptschule*, which is the lowest level of vocational education, the *Realschule*, which is at intermediate level, or the *Gymnasium*, which offers a pre-academic education. At the end of primary education, pupils are channelled into one of these routes based on federal state legislation. It varies according to federal state legislation whether the child's performance is the decisive factor and whether parents have to follow the recommendations of the schools regarding their children's placements (Söhn & Özcan, 2006). There are differences from one federal state to another, but in general proficiency in German is the key factor in obtaining access to favourable schools, which inevitably leaves Turkish pupils at a disadvantage. Large numbers of Turkish pupils leave primary school with relatively low educational achievement. This limits their opportunities mostly to general secondary schools which provide apprenticeships and vocational education. In basic primary schools, about 12% of all pupils were of foreign origin in 2004. By the time students reach the *Gymnasium*, the proportion of foreign pupils has declined to about four percent. This leads to a severe under-representation of Turkish students in the university system, as this requires them to have an *Abitur* or academic high school certificate. Given this picture of discrepancies between Turkish and German pupils, Ahlers (1996) observes that there is an intentional structural discrimination against non-German pupils at school. Not only have intermediate and advanced levels of schooling, the entry roads to further studies and professional qualifications, been less accessible to Turkish pupils than to their peers of German or other national origin. Turkish pupils have also been more likely than others to be deemed educationally subnormal and compelled to attend special schools.

The socio-economic background of Turkish parents, who came mainly from rural areas of central Anatolia, appears to be a major reason for their children's lack of educational success. Turkish immigrants mostly live in suburbs where people of lower socio-economic status tend to be concentrated. In general, family residences

are over-crowded and cannot provide places for children to study. First-generation Turkish immigrants generally have (very) limited German language skills. Turkish is the language spoken at home, often in the form of the parents' local dialect. In most cases, Turkish pupils start their education with a very limited knowledge of German. They usually attend the nearest school in the neighbourhood, some of which will hardly have any native-German speaking pupils. With Turkish-background pupils being over-represented, the basic educational principle of "learning from each other" is hampered severely where German language practice is concerned. In mixed schools, on the other hand, Turkish pupils with a low level of German language skills are often put in special classes where German language is the main subject. While this does improve the pupils' German language skills, another problem arises, and that is that they are prevented from participating in the main school curriculum, which is crucial for attaining the level necessary to move on to the appropriate secondary school.

To overcome second language acquisition problems, kindergartens have become essential for Turkish children to improve their German knowledge before they start primary school. As kindergartens are neither free of charge nor compulsory, unemployed Turkish mothers are more likely to keep their young children at home. As Turkish parents are mostly from rural backgrounds with limited education, they are not well-equipped to help their children with their homework or to participate in teacher-parent meetings at school. This lack of family support increases the number of school dropouts, which is very high among Turkish children. However, with new generations, the educational attainment of the Turkish community in Germany is improving. In the last 15 years, the number of Turkish students attending universities increased by 50%. Nevertheless, it should be noted that according to PISA reports (OECD 2006) the improvement second-generation Turkish students have achieved is not enough to catch up with their German peers.

### 3.4.2 Turkish language and the teaching of religion

Turkish language teaching was regulated as part of the school curriculum under a bilateral agreement between Turkey and Germany in 1976. In accordance with this agreement, teachers of Turkish were sent to Germany by the Ministry of Turkish National Education. The main original aim was to prepare Turkish children to adapt easily to the Turkish educational system in case they were to return to their country of origin. However, Turkish language teaching in Germany has been

criticized because Turkish teachers were sent to Germany for a limited period of time, often without any knowledge of German and without having had any in-service language teaching training (Oomen-Welke & Schmitt, 2005). When it became clear that Turkish immigrants were to become permanent residents in Germany, German policy regarding Turkish language teaching changed considerably. The new education policy claims to integrate non-Germans into German schools and society. As was explained previously, the provision of Turkish language lessons varies greatly from one federal state to the other but most federal governments decided to employ teachers of Turkish with the relevant educational qualifications and intercultural awareness. For this purpose, a Turkish teacher training department has been established at Essen-Duisburg University. Today, in North Rhine-Westphalia, all teachers of Turkish are employed locally among the teachers trained in Germany. North Rhine-Westphalia is also the first federal state that started Islamic religion lessons in the German language in the school year 1999-2000. These lessons are taught as part of the school curriculum like other religious lessons (Catholic, Protestant, and so on), and the mark students receive for this course plays a role in their school success. The teachers are chosen by local educational authorities from among Turkish language and religious culture teachers who have received in-service training and are fluent in German. In the school year 2008-2009, 10,067 pupils received religious culture lessons in German taught by 86 teachers in 126 schools (Source: Turkish Consulate to NRW). Table 3.2 shows the Turkish pupils' enrolments in education and in Turkish lessons in various school types in NRW in successive years.

Table 3.2: Turkish pupils' enrolments in NRW

| School Year | Primary and Secondary Education | Vocational Education | Higher Education | Turkish in Primary Education | Turkish in Secondary Education |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2004-2005 | 153,122 | 25,068 | 8,448 | 74,778 | 1,179 |
| 2005-2006 | 150,696 | 25,485 | 8,100 | 71,631 | 809 |
| 2006-2007 | 145,397 | 25,293 | 7,902 | 68,120 | 1,208 |
| 2007-2008 | 135,849 | 25,805 | 7,542 | 65,561 | 861 |
| 2008-2009 | 124,749 | 26,152 | 7,071 | 58,559 | 532 |

Source: NRW Statistic Bureau, regulated by Turkish Consulate in Düsseldorf (2009)

Since Turkish lessons under the control of Turkish consulates are taught on a voluntary basis and usually take place outside the school curriculum, many parents do not send their children to additional Turkish lessons. They do not demand instruction in their heritage language and this often causes problems for Turkish children's further bilingual development. The results of local language surveys which were conducted in the Multilingual Cities Project by Extra & Yagmur (2004)

in 6 European cities with over 160,000 informants show that children who took part in instruction in non-mainstream languages at school report higher levels of literacy in these languages than do children who did not take part in such instruction. In this domain in particular, the added value of language instruction for language maintenance and development is clear (Extra & Yagmur, 2004). Since bilingual and bicultural methods are no common practice in Germany, additional lessons in Turkish are gaining importance, being the only way to foster immigrant children's bilingual development and help them to cope with learning difficulties. In this context, in several states "additional mother tongue teaching" is carried out under the auspices of the German school authority (Oomen-Welke & Schmitt, 2005).

In 2004, around 188,000 Turkish pupils out of 520,000 (36%) attended Turkish language lessons in Germany. There were 1,905 Turkish language teachers, 1,448 of whom were employed by the local authorities and 457 teachers were sent by the Ministry of Turkish National Education.

Table 3.3: Statistics of Turkish language teaching in Germany

| Cities | Turkish Lesson Teachers | | | Pupils Attending Turkish Lessons | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | From Turkey | Local Assign-ment | Total | Turkish in Secondary Education | Turkish in Primary Education | Turkish Religion & Culture | Total |
| Köln | 1 | 179 | 180 | 301 | 1,569 | 5,662 | 7,532 |
| Mainz | 14 | 83 | 97 | 0 | 8,818 | 0 | 8,818 |
| Munster | 0 | 128 | 128 | 833 | 18,355 | 0 | 19,188 |
| Munich | 70 | 19 | 89 | 0 | 6,477 | 6,759 | 13,236 |
| Nuremberg | 36 | 39 | 75 | 0 | 5,614 | 4,960 | 10,574 |
| Stuttgart | 115 | 12 | 127 | 65 | 19,441 | 0 | 19,506 |
| Berlin | 35 | 90 | 125 | 774 | 1,794 | 0 | 2,568 |
| Düsseldorf | 0 | 220 | 220 | 600 | 20,790 | 0 | 21,390 |
| Essen | 0 | 146 | 146 | 498 | 20,195 | 0 | 20,693 |
| Frankfurt | 0 | 185 | 185 | 0 | 22,939 | 0 | 22,939 |
| Hamburg | 50 | 58 | 108 | 574 | 3,547 | 0 | 2,257 |
| Hanover | 17 | 140 | 157 | 1,137 | 11,811 | 0 | 12,948 |
| Bremen | 14 | 23 | 37 | 1,056 | 838 | 0 | 1,894 |
| Bremen haven | 3 | 3 | 6 | 81 | 168 | 0 | 249 |
| Lower Saxony | 0 | 114 | 114 | 0 | 9,668 | 0 | 9,668 |
| Karlsruhe | 102 | 9 | 111 | 0 | 12,416 | 0 | 12,416 |
| Total | 457 | 1,448 | 1,905 | 5,919 | 164,440 | 17,381 | 187,740 |

Source: Berlin Turkish Consulate (2005)

## 3.5 Employment patterns

Because of state policies on minority groups, it is more difficult for immigrant minorities to participate in employment than it is for indigenous nationals. Consequently, the employment rate is lower among Turkish immigrants than among indigenous Germans. However, the relative labour market disadvantage of Turks in other European countries is higher than in Germany. Germany followed up a recruitment policy in which German authorities required a vocational school diploma for any immigrant visa application. This improved the educational qualifications of Turkish immigrants in Germany. In addition to their employment rate being low, Turkish people also hold tenured jobs less often than indigenous people. Table 3.4 shows the workforce status of Turkish people in Germany.

Table 3.4: Workforce status of Turkish people in Germany

| Turkish | Number of Workforce | | | Unemployed | Unemployment | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nationality | Employed | Entrepreneur | Total | | Turks | General |
| 1,764,041 | 458,243 | 64,600 | 522,843 | 210,821 | 32.5 | 11.7 |

Source: German Federal Labour Statistics (2005)

Apart from education, immigrant minorities' labour market performance is also an important indicator to assess immigrants' integration patterns. The more integrated an individual is, the better he or she will do on the labour market. However, in their studies on Turkish immigrants' employment rate, Euwals et al. (2007) report that lowly educated Turkish men do rather well in Germany.

Table 3.5: Sectors of Turkish workforce

| Sectors | Turkish Workers | Rate (%) |
|---|---|---|
| Agriculture, Forest, Fishing | 3,970 | 0.8 |
| Mine | 4,423 | 0.9 |
| Production Industry | 192,433 | 41.9 |
| Energy-Aqua | 828 | 0.1 |
| Building | 23,291 | 5.0 |
| Trade | 58,002 | 12.6 |
| Hotel and Restaurant Business | 22,580 | 4.9 |
| Transportation and Communications | 31,942 | 6.9 |
| Bank and Insurance | 3,387 | 0.7 |
| Estate, Land, Office | 66,719 | 14.5 |
| Public Management, Social Insurance | 7,502 | 1.6 |
| Education | 6,911 | 1.5 |
| Health, Veterinary and Social Services | 21,486 | 4.6 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Other Public Works | 14,220 | 3.1 |
| House Holding | 171 | - |
| Private Local Organizations | 303 | - |
| Other | 75 | - |
| Total | 458,243 | |

Source: German Federal Labour Statistics (2005)

At the level of primary education, Turkish men outperform native German men with an employment rate of 43% against 30%. Although this is a relatively good outcome for Turkish immigrants, the substantially larger number of Turks with such a low level of education may hint at an under-investment in human capital which is clearly not an advantage in the longer run (Euwals et al. 2007). Table 3.5 shows the number of Turkish immigrants and their employment rates in German work sectors in 2004.

The unemployment rate of Turkish people is the highest among all foreigners (3.8% higher than that for the total number of other foreigners in 2004). The highest unemployment rate emerges in the federal states of Berlin-Brandenburg, Saxony-Anhalt/Turingen and Saxony, respectively. The shortfall in the employment rate is partly explained by differences between Turks and the indigenous population in terms of education attainment, age and household composition. Table 3.6 shows the unemployment rates of other foreigners and Turkish people in 2004.

Table 3.6: Unemployment rates

| Federal Labour Departments | Foreigners | Employment Rate (%) | Turks | Employment Rate (%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern | 43,304 | 36.3 | 12,596 | 37.6 |
| Low Saxony/Bremen | 66,900 | 40.9 | 19,790 | 41.1 |
| North Rhine-Westphalia | 202,298 | 34.4 | 77,397 | 36.6 |
| Hessian | 59,483 | 23.5 | 18,338 | 27.1 |
| Rhineland-Pfalz/Saarland | 32,118 | 28.5 | 8,687 | 29.7 |
| Baden-Württemberg | 91,372 | 19.8 | 27,754 | 23.2 |
| Bavaria | 86,542 | 22.0 | 20,532 | 22.2 |
| Berlin/Brandenburg | 68,414 | 51.7 | 24,450 | 56.6 |
| Saxony-Anhalt, Thüringen | 10,521 | 54.4 | 650 | 54.7 |
| Saxony | 11,365 | 54.3 | 627 | 52.9 |
| Total | 672,317 | 28.7 | 210,821 | 32.5 |

Source: German Federal Labour Statistics (2005)

The ethnic enterprise rate is fairly high among Turkish immigrants. According to the German Socioeconomic Panel (GSOEP), the self-employment rate of Turks and Germans are 7% and 10% respectively. There were around 66,000 companies in 2004 that belonged to Turkish entrepreneurs. This number equals about 70% of all Turkish entrepreneurs in the European Union. Turkish entrepreneurs employed 375,000 people in their companies. Their yearly sales totalled around 35 billion Euros. By becoming ethnic entrepreneurs, Turkish immigrants are able to take advantage of their better knowledge of Turkish consumers' demands compared to native businesses, while at the same time helping to provide employment for their fellow immigrants. Furthermore, by starting their own businesses immigrant entrepreneurs are able to circumvent some of the potential barriers others may encounter (Migration and Integration Research Department, 2005).

Table 3.7: Sectors of Turkish companies

| Numbers | Rate (%) | Sectors |
|---|---|---|
| 1,680 | 2.8 | Production Industry |
| 1,020 | 1.7 | Building construction |
| 6,180 | 10.3 | Handcraft Sector |
| 3,000 | 5.0 | Wholesale Sector |
| 21,600 | 36.0 | Retail Sector |
| 11,940 | 19.9 | Food (meal) Sector |
| 14,580 | 24.3 | Service Sector |

Source: German Federal Labour Statistics (2005)

## 3.6 Religious organizations in Germany

In Germany, over 55 million people are reported to be Christian. Almost half of them (27.4 million) belong to a Protestant community while the other half belong to the Roman Catholic community. Being a secular state, Germany has neither a state church nor is there interaction between state and church administrators. Hence, churches are not inspected by the state. Young priests are educated in faculties of theology, where churches are instrumental in appointing staff. Churches play a major role in the social life of Germany in the establishment of schools, hospitals, retirement homes, rest homes, nursery schools, while the German State contributes to the financing of these facilities.

According to the Federal Government, up to 3.4 million people (4% of the total population) were registered in 2004 as Muslims of varying nationalities, including 200,000 from Bosnia-Herzegovina, 100,000 from Iran, 80,000 from Morocco, and

70,000 from Afghanistan. The largest Muslim group of 1.8 million consists of Turkish nationals. Religion has proved of particular importance for Turks in Germany. Islam, more than any other manifestation of cultural values, is regarded as the one feature of their identity that most strongly differentiates them from the majority in their host society (Karakasoglu, 1996). However, Turkish people who call themselves Muslims may adhere to different values. For instance, secular Muslims may consider religion as a private matter and may not necessarily feel obliged to carry out religious practices such as Friday prayers and fasting during Ramadan. Practising and conservative Muslims are often mistaken for fundamentalists. Fundamentalist Muslims make a conscious effort to proclaim their religious conviction by wearing the symbolic beard and specific clothes to cover parts of their bodies, and thus encourage segregation and the establishment of separate groups. Media coverage concerning Islam and the building of mosques tends to be stigmatizing in nature, which leads to hardened group boundaries. Being born in Germany and generally being better educated than their parents and grandparents, third-generation Turks perceive and experience discrimination and their outsider status more acutely than earlier generations. According to Mueller (2006), such youngsters achieve a sense of community by joining local mosques.

In Germany, there were around 160 mosques and 2,600 Islamic organisations in 2004. 71% of these associations acted under the supervision of the Turkish Institute for Religious Affairs (DITIP), which is headed by people appointed by the Turkish government for a period of 5 years. Because the German government does not recognize Islamic groups as religious organizations, these organizations do not get the financial support from the state to, for example, establish schools and social foundations. The DITIP takes responsibility for a wide variety of functions and activities, such as the organisation of Religion and Holy Book lessons, weddings, funerals, social, cultural and sporting events. The liberal strand of Islam in Turkey, the so-called *Alevites*, are developing similar organizations and are attempting to stimulate social developments in their country of immigration. *Aleutians* do not take part in the DITIP. A lot of *Alevite* organizations act under "Germany Aleutian Unions Federation". In their conduct and appearance, these liberal Muslims are perceived by Germans as less alien than *Sunni* Muslims, and are therefore taken to be more Europeanised and integrated (Tan & Waldhoff, 1996).

Table 3.8: Reported denominations in Germany

| Denominations | Number | Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|
| Sunnis | 2,600,000 | 80 |
| Aleutians | 500,000 | 17 |
| Shiites | 130,000 | 3 |

Source: REMID (2005)

Being different from the ones in Turkey, mosques are not only places where Muslims go for their daily prayers but they also serve as social places including facilities such as marketing, classrooms, teahouses and sports activities.

As Islamic structure is heterogeneous, Muslims perceive and experience Islam in a variety of different ways. Some radical groups that establish their community around particular forms of worships and particular mosques where similar activities take place have the possibility of influencing their members in their ideologies and preferences. For migrants, a distinctive religious identity may have both positive and negative effects. On the one hand, religious differences tend to encourage segregation and the establishment of separate 'compartments' in the host society. On the other hand, religion may have a stabilizing influence both psychologically and morally, resulting in organisational networks which make it easier for migrants to integrate into their new social environment. This ambiguity of religion as a force behind both segregation and integration can also be seen as characterising the position of the Turkish minority in Germany (Karakasoglu, 1996).

According to a survey conducted in Germany by the Foundation Centre for Studies on Turkey in 2000, the majority of Turkish immigrants defined themselves as religious. Two-thirds described themselves as tending towards religiousness, while only 7% of the informants defined themselves as deeply religious (Şen & Aydin, 2002). In addition, the religious tendency is higher among older people than in younger generations, which is particularly interesting since the longer German-Turks live in Germany the more likely they are to embrace religion (Goldberg, 2002). This might be interpreted as Turkish people holding on to Islam as a core value of their identity and a symbol of resistance to assimilation. Comparing with those results in 2000, the director of TAM, Şen (2008) reports that there has been a 10% increase in the tendency towards religion. Şen also argues that two other determinants of religiosity are the level of education and social competence. The higher the education level, the lower is the religiosity. Also among unemployed migrants, religiosity is substantially higher (Şen, 2008).

Since the German Federal Government does not provide money for mosque associations in the way that it does for Catholic and Protestant churches, Islamic organisations raise money mostly from members by appealing to their religious conscience, and by promising aid to Muslims in need. Some of the money is used to provide social and material support to in-group members. At a time of increasing job losses and growing unemployment, these organisations tend to attract more members. Some have questioned the actual use of the money raised in this way. The "Light House" case in 2008 aroused the suspicion that a large amount of money might have been used in Turkey for political aims. In any event, it is clear that there is a correlation between people's religious and political tendencies both in Turkey and among immigrants abroad.

## 3.7 Socio-cultural institutions

There are numerous Turkish foundations in Germany, ranging from socio-cultural and sports associations to local civic centres, and many of them have a religious orientation. Table 3.9 shows their official numbers in Germany in 2005. The Migration Research Department (2005) suggests that as immigrant organisations and associations respond to the needs of immigrants and work towards articulating and furthering their interests, they also fulfil further functions such as providing a sense of belonging or home to immigrants and making them feel protected.

Table 3.9: Turkish foundations in Germany

| Foundation Type | Numbers |
|---|---|
| Religious Services | 672 |
| Social and Cultural Foundations | 612 |
| Sports Foundations | 440 |
| Others | 490 |
| Total | 2,214 |

Source: Turkish Labour Consulate to Germany (2006)

In spite of their low educational attainment levels and low labour market position, Turkish immigrants have become active participants in various domains of social and professional life in Germany. There are Turkish immigrants at various governmental levels; in 2005, 7 Turkish people were members of parliament (two of them were also members of the European Parliament); 52 Turks held local administration posts and 1,844 held seats on foreigner councils, which were developed for the foreigners to carry responsibilities for the municipalities.

The German media market offers a wide range of products for non-Germans, most of them addressing each group in their own language. There are over fifty non-German newspapers produced in Germany, the majority of them published in Turkish (Migration and Integration Research Department, 2005). As the largest proportion of Turkish immigrants in Europe live in Germany, the resources and facilities available to them are much higher than those available to immigrants living in other countries. Apart from there being European editions of major Turkish newspapers, there are also magazines for the Turkish community printed every day in Germany and being distributed to other Western European countries. Turkish novels are available at bookshops and libraries. Some authors of Turkish origin, such as Emine Sevgi Özdamar, Zehra İpsiroglu, and Feridun Zaimoglu, have become successful in the German literary world. In their books, these Turkish-German authors tell readers about their migration experiences, the difficulties they encounter, the cultural clash between the two societies, honour

killings, and so on. The authors write these books both in German and in Turkish. All kinds of Turkish artists come to Germany on a regular basis to perform there and to meet Turkish immigrants. Authors take part in panels organised by Turkish foundations in Germany. Also Turkish state- and private theatre companies, concerts, exhibitions contribute to the maintenance of the Turkish language and culture in Germany.

Together with the printed media and other support factors that provide wide social networks for Turkish immigrants, TV plays a very important role in their lives. The first TV shows especially prepared for immigrant minorities were broadcast in the 1960s. In the early seventies, television programs in Turkish were transmitted once or twice a week. It was also during these years that Turkish video films caught on among Turkish people. In 1990, the Turkish state channel TRT established TRT-Int. (International) for Turkish immigrants abroad. After satellite and cable TV became available, private television stations began broadcasting as well. Today, Turkish people in Germany are able to watch hundreds of national and local Turkish channels via their satellite-dishes. TRT has got its broadcasting studio in Berlin. Most of the major Turkish TV channels have been developing international versions of their shows and broadcast from Germany. After having investigated Turkish TV broadcasting stations and Turkish people's preferences in Germany, the Berlin Institute for Comparative Social Research (2002) reported that, although different statements have been issued regarding the priorities of Turkish viewers, it is certain that, measured in absolute broadcasting time, most viewers prefer Turkish TV channels. Moreover, the average TV consumption of German-Turks is higher than the average TV consumption time among German viewers, totalling more than four-and-a-half hours of TV daily.

## 3.8 Concluding Remarks

Turkish migration to Germany which started officially in 1961 was supposed to be temporary. After the reunification of Turkish families in Germany, the Turkish migrant status changed to one of permanent residence in Germany.

Support factors in the form of Turkish institutions, foundations, mosques, bookshops and mass media also contribute to the maintenance of the Turkish language. Many local papers and major Turkish newspapers printed in Germany are available to Turkish immigrants. Cable and satellite-dish facilities make it possible for the Turkish community to receive dozens of Turkish TV channels, which provide a wide range of social networks for Turkish immigrants.

In Germany, there were around 160 mosques and 2,600 Islamic organisations in 2005. Mosques, being different from the ones in Turkey, are not only places that Muslims go to for their daily prayers, but they also serve as social places providing

such facilities as marketing, classrooms, teahouses and sports activities. As a result, their Muslim identity has become one of the most prominent aspects of Turkish identity.

The unemployment rate among Turkish people is higher than that of any other ethnic groups living in Germany. However, the ethnic enterprise rate is fairly high among Turkish immigrants. The key factor in the high unemployment rate among Turkish immigrants is low schooling success, which puts them at a disadvantage in comparison natives. Turkish children have lower levels of schooling compared to German children. Large numbers of Turkish pupils leave primary school with relatively low success, which limits their access to secondary education to mostly general secondary schools which provide apprenticeships and vocational education. In spite of their low educational attainment and low labour market position, Turkish people are increasingly taking part in various domains of social and professional life in Germany.

CHAPTER 4

# Design of the study

In line with the conceptual framework documented in Chapter 2, the methodology of the current study is presented in this chapter. The rationale for the inclusion of acculturation variables, the type of data needed to uncover the relationship between language use and acculturation orientations, the profile of the informants, and the instruments as well as the data collection procedures are described in this chapter.

A large amount of research on acculturation has been done in European immigrant-receiving societies in the last few decades. In spite of numerous findings on the topic, immigrant integration continues to dominate the social, political, and scientific agendas of immigrant-receiving countries. Integration requires mutual co-ordinated efforts on the part of both host and immigrant groups. Our intention therefore is to study these agendas from two different angles:

1) The institutions and policies of the receiving society and the attitudes with regard to acculturation of the members of the host community.
2) The immigrant minorities' attitudes with regard to acculturation and their actual integration patterns.

The second dimension has been investigated extensively but research on the first dimension in combination with the second is almost non-existent. In spite of certain inherent conceptual and methodological problems in earlier acculturation research, social integration patterns of various immigrant groups in different national contexts have been investigated exhaustively. Integration is a multi-dimensional phenomenon and host communities' attitudes towards immigrant integration appear to have certain effects on immigrant groups' acculturation attitudes and practices. To arrive at more comprehensive and conclusive results, both host and minority groups have been investigated together in this study because the issues resulting from migration, such as integration of immigrants, social cohesion and unity in the receiving society and increasing socio-cultural conflicts between various groups are all interrelated. In some European countries, immigrants and asylum-seekers are often portrayed as aliens and invaders threatening the integrity and homogeneity of national identity (Crowley &

Hickman, 2008). As a result, the position of immigrants as outsiders is strengthened in the public psyche, and managing migration and promoting social cohesion pose greater challenges than ever. In order to fully understand these processes, the causes and consequences of marginalization of immigrant groups are included in this research design. To arrive at the best possible picture, the acculturation attitudes of the members of the receiving host society are investigated together with the attitudes of the immigrant groups.

## 4.1 Methodology

In order to arrive at a thorough understanding of the factors causing (non-) integration of Turkish immigrants, low levels of socio-cultural adaptation, high numbers of school drop-outs among immigrant youngsters, and high levels of dependence on welfare systems, it is necessary to investigate the relationship between:

a) The integration ideology, policies and practices of the receiving society and their effect on acculturation processes of immigrants (integration, assimilation, marginalization, separation according to Bourhis et al. 1997).
b) Mainstream acculturation attitudes among members of the host community and their effect on the Turkish immigrant community (interethnic conflict, inclusion-exclusion, participation).
c) Acculturation attitudes and practices of immigrant groups, including practices with regard to language use, language choice, and language proficiency in the respective source and host country language.

In line with the conceptual framework presented in Chapter 2, data was collected through large-scale surveys and document analysis in order to investigate:

I) The characteristics of the German context (integration ideology of the host society, acculturation expectations/orientations of the host community, acceptance of newcomers).
II) Acculturation orientations and actual integration patterns among Turkish groups across first and second generations (socio-cultural orientations, identity perceptions, language use/choice).
III) The resulting outcomes on the basis of the relationship between I & II in terms of integration, assimilation, marginalisation or separation.

## 4.2 Research questions

According to Berry's (1997) bidimensional model and Bourhis et al.'s (1997) ideological clustering model, as introduced in Chapter 2, there is a close connection between host society policies and immigrant groups' acculturation orientations. State integration policies can have a decisive impact on the acculturation orientation of both immigrants and members of the host society. As shown by Yagmur & van de Vijver (2011), there is a close connection between the degree of acculturation on the one hand and the integration ideology of the receiving societies on the other. The discourse of social exclusion in mainstream media contributes to the social isolation of immigrants. In order to study the possible effects of state integration policies on different generations of immigrant groups and mainstream German informants, a cross-sectional design was chosen. Accordingly, the first two research questions were formulated as follows:

1) To what extent do the integration policies of the receiving society have an effect upon acculturation orientations of Turkish immigrants in the German context?
2) Is there any difference between host society members' and Turkish immigrants' acculturation orientations regarding multiculturalism?

In order to find answers to the above questions, Bourhis et al.'s (1997) *Interactive Acculturation Model* (IAM) and an updated version of its accompanying instrument is employed. The model makes predictions regarding the acculturation orientations most likely to produce consensual, problematic, or conflictual relational outcomes between immigrants and members of the host community. The relational outcomes proposed in the model are determined by a combination of state integration policies and host majority and immigrant group acculturation orientations. The first set of research questions will enable us to get a good picture of the orientations of Turkish and German informants towards multiculturalism in the German context.

The third set of research questions deal with the acculturation orientations of Turkish immigrants in Germany. Due to difficulties involved in longitudinal designs, a cross-sectional design involving different age and gender groups as well as different educational qualifications would be more telling with regard to the possible differences in acculturation orientations. Because most second-generation immigrant youngsters grow up in the context of immigration, they have less knowledge of and competence in Turkish compared to first-generation immigrants. By the same token, because second-generation immigrant youngsters are socialized and educated in the mainstream community, we would expect their cultural practices and orientations to be much closer to those of the host group. In order to

get an idea of the acculturation orientations of Turkish immigrants, the following question was formulated:

3) Are there any intergenerational differences between acculturation orientations of Turkish immigrants?

This third question deals with ethnic identification and self-identity perceptions in an intergenerational perspective. Ethnicity is understood as a group's self-recognition as well as its recognition in the eyes of outsiders (Fishman, 1989). As discussed in detail in Chapter 2, ethnic identity basically refers to an individual's sense of the self in terms of membership of a particular ethnic group. Ethnic self-identification and host group identification are important dimensions of our design. How Turkish informants view their own ethnicity and the extent to which they identify themselves with the mainstream identity will show their underlying acculturation orientations across generations. The focus will be on self-identification, feelings of belonging, commitment to their own group, a sense of shared values, and attitudes towards their own group. As indicated by Liebkind (2006: 80): "Changes in self-identification during acculturation involve issues similar to those used to identify acculturation attitudes, such as whether or not to adopt the host country label and whether or not to retain the ethnic label." As a matter of fact, ethnic self-identification alone would not reveal the extent to which a person actually identifies with a self-applied category. The following two questions were used to tap ethnic identification:

4) What is the extent of in -and out-group identification among Turkish immigrants?
5) To what extent is generation a predictor of self-identification?

Given the weight of religious belonging for Muslims, this study will also measure the type and degree of religious identification of Turkish informants. Tajfel & Turner's (1986) social identity theory is about people's consciousness of their membership in different social settings and the values attached to such membership in positive or negative terms. The awareness of group membership forms part of the self-concept. However, social identity is more telling when there is 'comparison' with other groups. Individuals have a drive to belong to groups the membership of which gives them pride and satisfaction. Since religion is an important dimension for defining a positive social identity for certain groups, religious identification is part of the design. Turkish culture belongs to a range of collectivistic cultures (Hofstede, 1980) and in such cultures one either is or is not a member of the in-group. Triandis (2001) proposes that, compared to people in individualist cultures, people in collectivist cultures, are more likely to define

themselves as being part of groups and to give priority to in-group goals. Accordingly, Verkuyten (2007: 343) compares in-group identification among collectivistic groups to religious identification and suggests that "religion is often of profound importance to people's lives and religious groups are among the more salient buttresses of identity." Unlike the picture that we get from Western-European media covering events in Turkey might suggest, not all people coming from Turkey are equally religious. Like Christian groups, Islamic groups are not at all homogenous. In line with social identity theory, the strong stigmatisation of Islam in Western Europe might have an effect on Muslim immigrants' religious identifications. In order to study the extent of religious identification among Turkish immigrants, the following three research questions were formulated:

6) What is the extent of religious identification among Turkish immigrants?
7) To what extent is religious identity directly related to the degree of acculturation?
8) To what extent is religious identification directly related to religious practice?

As discussed in detail in Chapter 2, cultural identity is different from ethnic identity. Ferraro (2002: 19) defines culture as "everything that people have, think and do as members of their society." In this definition, one can distinguish material, mental and behavioural aspects of culture. Kroeber & Kluckhohn (1952) already identified over 160 definitions of culture. Various aspects of culture emerge: social heritage, tradition, shared and learned human behaviour, normative ideals and values; the way humans solve problems, ideas, learned habits, patterned and interrelated ideas, symbols, or behaviours and arbitrarily assigned meanings that are shared by a society. Because it is impossible to include all of these dimensions in an acculturation investigation, material elements, symbolic meanings and cultural values will be incorporated to get a picture of the cultural orientation of our informants. Because cultural practices cannot be separated from their social context, research questions on Turkish immigrants' social contacts will be included as well. It is important to document the actual amount of contact between immigrants and host society members because this is the most important indicator for social integration. Finally, a clear distinction is made between cultural identity and ethnic identity in the literature (Liebkind, 2006; Phinney, 1990). The ethnic and cultural identities of Turkish immigrants and their role in integration will be examined in terms of the interaction between their attitudes and the responses of the receiving society. Turkish immigrants might have positive attitudes towards the host culture but feel that they cannot adopt certain habits and behaviours due to certain deeply rooted cultural values and beliefs. The relationship between ethnic identification and cultural identification will be explored in detail. In line with the

conceptual framework presented in Chapter 2, the following three questions deal with the cultural orientation of Turkish immigrants:

9) To what extent do Turkish immigrants think that they know Turkish and German culture?
10) What is the extent of bicultural identification among Turkish informants?
11) Does cultural identification of Turkish informants show differentiation between generations?

Social networks of immigrants and domains of acculturation receive conspicuously little attention in acculturation research. For immigrants to be able to participate in the mainstream society, they should first of all have access to certain social networks. If an immigrant's access to the mainstream society is only through work or school, the chances of actual socio-cultural integration taking place remain limited. Interaction and participation are the two key concepts for socio-cultural learning. Breakwell (cited in Liebkind, 2006: 85) describes the social context of identity as being structurally comprised of interpersonal networks, group memberships and inter-group relationships. As long as there is positive interaction between the host and minority group, the chances for adapting to cultural norms and values of the host society remain high. However, if the minority group is stigmatized and if there is wide-spread prejudice against them, the chances of interaction occurring are minimized. As pointed out by Liebkind (2006) and in line with the social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), some members of stigmatized or discriminated groups distance themselves physically or psychologically from their ancestral group in the face of negative social identity. Such individual moves have their own limits as well, especially if the group boundaries are relatively fixed and solid. The receiving society's integration policies might turn out to be a relevant indicator for assessing impermeability of group boundaries. In that respect, investigating the degree of social contacts between Turkish immigrants and host society members might shed some light on this matter. In line with the conceptual framework presented in Chapter 2, the following two questions deal with social networks and intergroup relations of Turkish immigrants:

12) What is the extent of social interaction between Turkish immigrants and the mainstream group in Germany?
13) What is the degree of involvement with in -and out-group members across generations?

As pointed out by Fishman (1985), positive attitudes towards one's own community language alone do not always lead to language maintenance. If the

(first) language is intertwined as a core value with other core values such as religion and historical consciousness, language maintenance can be achieved. Because language is bound up with social identity, subjective perceptions of language vitality influence whether people promote, maintain, or lose their distinctive language or culture. In this respect, it is essential to pay attention to Turkish immigrants' perceptions of group values promoting the maintenance of the community language and culture. In line with Smolicz's (1981) core values theory and Giles et al.'s ethnolinguistic vitality theory, the following two research questions deal with in-group characteristics and cultural values that promote cultural identity:

14) What are the overarching common core values of Turkish immigrants in Germany?
15) What kind of relationship is there between their own and host cultural orientations?

Finally, in order to investigate the relationship between acculturation orientations of Turkish immigrants and their language use patterns, the following set of research questions were posed:

16) Do Turkish informants' language choice patterns differ in public and private domains?
17) To what extent do Turkish informants support linguistic and cultural maintenance?
18) What are the language use and choice patterns of Turkish immigrants in the German context?
19) To what extent will language be a predictor of acculturation?

The above research questions mostly deal with immigrant informants' acculturation orientations. In order to be able to make assessments of the acculturation contexts, information on the host society members' acculturation orientations is also necessary. In the German context, mainstream informants' acculturation orientations will be tested with the help of a sub-group of instruments used with the Turkish informants (*Interactive Acculturation Index* and *Attitudes towards Language and Multiculturalism*). In this respect, a sub-set of research questions will be tested on the basis of data collected from host group informants.

Language maintenance is said to be influenced by the ethnolinguistic vitality of an ethnolinguistic group. According to Giles et al. (1977), demographic factors, status factors and institutional support factors combine to make up the vitality of an ethnolinguistic group. An assessment of a group's strengths and weaknesses in each of these domains will provide a rough classification of those having *low, medium,* or *high* vitality. Low vitality groups are most likely to go through linguistic

assimilation and may not be considered a distinctive collective group (Bourhis et al. 1981). In previous studies on acculturation, ethnolinguistic vitality perceptions of acculturating people were not taken into consideration. In order to see the relationship between language maintenance-shift and subjective vitality of Turkish immigrants, the following questions were posed:

20) To what extent is there a relationship between first language use and ethnolinguistic vitality of the Turkish immigrants?
21) To what extent do Turkish and German informants agree about each other's group vitalities?

In order to find answers to these 21 research questions, specific survey instruments have been developed. In section 4.3, the instruments for data collection are described.

## 4.3 Instruments

The main data collection instrument, i.e., the *Language, Culture, and Identity Questionnaire*, included seven sub-sections (see Appendix A). Below, the structure of each sub-section and the questions they contained will be described in detail. In the first part of the questionnaire, background information will be collected through 12 questions on gender, age, country of birth of person, partner/spouse and parents, years of residence in the host country, city of residence, education received (diploma), profession, marital status if married, and visits to the homeland.

### 4.3.1 Multiculturalism scale

This section includes ten questions with five-point Likert scales. The benefits of using bipolar formats are discussed extensively by Kang (2006). The index is based on Berry & Kalin's (1995) earlier work, which proposes that state integration policies can have a decisive impact on the acculturation orientation of both immigrants and members of the mainstream community. The instrument was used before in the Dutch context with Turkish informants by Arends-Toth (2003). With the exception of two items in the *Multiculturalism Index*, Arends-Toth got representative results from her Turkish sample. Informants responded to endorsement-format questions asking about views on pluralism, e.g., "*German people should recognize that the German society consists of groups with different cultural backgrounds*" and language maintenance such as "*Ethnic minorities should be helped to preserve their cultural heritage in Germany*". Answers were given on a 5-point scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5). In order to test Bourhis et al.'s (1997) ideological clustering versus immigrant integration patterns, the *Multiculturalism*

*Index* was used in the German context. The same *Interactive Acculturation Scale* was also administered to mainstream German informants in a number of cities in Germany.

### 4.3.2 Ethnic identification scale

A two-dimensional ethnic identification scale included three sub-sections with a total of 21 questions. In the first question, the informants choose their ethnic identification from the four given choices as shown below:

1) Different people live in Germany. To which group do you consider yourself to belong to?

   **0** The Turkish group
   **0** The German group
   **0** Both groups
   **0** Other, namely: ……

The second and third questions are in an endorsement format using five-point Likert scales:

| | I definitely don't agree | I don't agree | Neutral | I agree | I definitely agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2) I feel Turkish | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3) I feel German | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

In order to examine the factors contributing to feeling Turkish or German in a bipolar fashion, 10 questions for Turkish identification and 8 questions for German identification are formulated. Ascribed and subscribed dimensions of ethnic identification (Fishman, 1989) as well as the core values theory of Smolicz (1981) were considered in choosing identification dimensions such as language, religion, ancestry, cultural orientation, and in-group norms and values. The questions in the bipolar scales are almost the same for German and Turkish but the Turkish one also includes questions on religious identification.

### 4.3.3 Ethnic and mainstream cultural orientation scale

The scale consists of 17 questions designed to assess the respondents' orientation towards a Turkish and mainstream identity. All of the questions have an endorsement format, which asks participants to rate each statement in terms of how strongly they agree or disagree. Examples are "*I am proud that I am Turkish*" and "*I am happy that I am German*". The section ends with the question "*All in all, do you*

*feel more Turkish or more German*?" with a five-point response scale from (1) *only Turkish* to (5) *only German*.

### 4.3.4 Turkish and mainstream behaviour scale

The scale consists of 22 endorsement format questions designed to assess (a) attitudes toward the ethnic and mainstream culture, (b) affiliation with respective cultural groups, (c) preferences with regard to food, music, activities, and media. The participants are asked to rate each statement in terms of how strongly they agree or disagree, for instance, "*I live in accordance with Turkish cultural norms and values*", and "*I live in accordance with German cultural norms and values*". All questions in this section are rated on a 5-point Likert-scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5).

### 4.3.5 The religious beliefs scale

This scale consists of 18 questions designed to assess the extent of religious identification. Both symbolic identification and the extent of religious practices are assessed. Examples of items are "*I am a Muslim*", "*I know Islamic rules very well", and "I fast during Ramadan*". Questions are rated on a 5-point Likert-scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5).

### 4.3.6 The ethnic and mainstream social network scale

The scale consists of 23 endorsement type questions designed to assess the structure of social networks of the informants, such as spare time activities, type of social interaction in the neighbourhood, and degree of contact with ethnic and mainstream friends. The participants are asked to rate each statement in terms of how strongly they agree or disagree, for instance, "*There are many Turks in the suburb in which I live*", "*When I have personal problems, I share them with my Turkish friends*". All questions in this section are rated on a 5-point Likert-scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5). The section ends with the question "*All in all, are you more in contact with Turkish or with German people?"*, with a five-point response scale from (1) *only Turkish* to (5) *only German*.

### 4.3.7 The ethnic and mainstream cultural norms scale

This scale consists of 19 endorsement type questions designed to assess the attitudes of the informants regarding a) Turkish /mainstream norms and values, b) vitality of the respective groups, c) degree of institutional support for cultural maintenance, and d) degree of exclusion experienced in the mainstream society. The participants are asked to rate each statement in terms of how strongly they agree or disagree, for instance, "*Turks in Germany can act together as a group*" and "*German people usually think negatively about Turks*". All questions in this section are rated on a 5-point Likert-scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5).

### 4.3.8 The language use, choice and preference scale

The scale consists of 50 questions in 5 sub-sections on a) the language register in interaction with different interlocutors, such as mother, father and siblings, b) the language register spoken to the informant, c) language use, d) language preference, and e) language choice across topics. The participants are asked to respond to language use or choice questions in a bipolar scale format, for instance: "*In which language do you interact mostly with your mother?*" The responses are indicated on a 5-point Likert-scale ranging from (1) *always German* to (5) *always Turkish*.

### 4.3.9 The attitudes to Turkish language scale

This scale consists of 20 questions designed to assess attitudes towards the Turkish language in various domains. The participants are asked to respond to each question in terms of how strongly they value Turkish, for instance, "*How important is Turkish for you to find a job?*", or *How important is Turkish for you to rear children?*". All questions in this section are rated on a 5-point Likert-scale ranging from *not important* (1) to *very important* (5).

### 4.3.10 The subjective ethnolinguistic vitality questionnaire (SEVQ)

The concept of SEVQ was developed by Bourhis et al. (1981) and has been piloted in a variety of ethnic settings in a range of countries. The instrument has been built on the ethnolinguistic vitality theory developed by Giles et al. (1977) (see Chapter 2, Section 2.6). They identified a group of factors that would promote or impede the long-term maintenance of an ethnic minority language. Vitality variables have been identified as being important on the basis of research evidence on sociological factors supporting or hampering language maintenance and linguistic assimilation. The main assumption behind EVT was that the lower the vitality of an ethnic group, the less likely that group is to maintain its language and cultural identity.

In the present study, the SEVQ involved rating mainstream Germans and Turkish immigrants in Germany on 24 items, measuring group vitality on the three dimensions of status, demography, and institutional support, respectively. The original questionnaire included 22 items but in the present study two additional questions on the extent of in-group solidarity and importance of norms and values for the group are included. Respondents rated German (termed 'people of German descent') and Turkish (termed 'people of Turkish descent') vitalities on 7-point Likert Scales. The ordering of Turkish and German scales was counterbalanced across the 24 items and bipolar (positive-negative) ratings, which were reversed on alternate questions:

2. How highly regarded are the following languages in Germany?

Turkish

not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ extremely high

German

not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ extremely high

3. How highly regarded are the following languages *internationally*?

German

extremely high ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ not at all

Turkish

extremely high ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ not at all

The 24 items in the questionnaire (See Appendix B) are grouped around three main socio-structural variables: status variables, demographic variables and institutional support variables. The status variables involve the economic, social, socio-historical and language status of the group within or outside the mainstream community. On these items, it is claimed that the more status a group is recognized to have by minority and majority members, the more vitality it can be said to possess as a group. Economic status refers to the degree of control an ethnolinguistic group has gained over the economic life of a region or country (Q.6 in the Questionnaire). Social status is related to economic status and equally powerful. It is the degree of esteem the group affords itself (Q.8 in the Questionnaire). Not only the in-group's but also the out-group's endorsement is very important. Socio-historical status refers to various historical dimensions of an ethnolinguistic group (Q.16). Historical events can be mobilizing factors to encourage people to remain together, leading to feelings of group solidarity and as such contributing to the vitality of the group. The fourth factor is the status of the language spoken by an ethnolinguistic group both within (Q.2: perceived local language status) and outside (Q.3: perceived international language status) the mainstream community.

There are six demographic variables involved in the questionnaire: national territory, which is related to the notion of ancestral homeland and group concentration across a region or country (Q.9); the proportion of speakers belonging to the ethnic in-group and that of the out-group (Q.1); the group's birth rate in relation to that of the out-group (Q.5); the rate of mixed marriages in these respective groups (Q.12); immigration patterns of both groups (Q.11); and finally, emigration patterns of both groups (Q.15).

The third set of variables in the questionnaire are institutional support factors, which refer to the degree of formal or informal support a language receives in various institutions of a nation, region or community, in particular in mass-media (Q.7); education (Q.10); government services (Q.4); industry (Q.14); religion (Q.17); culture (Q.18); and politics (Q.13).

In addition, there are four questions derived from the original questionnaire (Bourhis et al. 1981) to elicit views and perceptions of ethnic group members concerning perceived group strength (Q.19); group wealth (Q.20); predicted future

strength (Q.21); and perceived intergroup contact (Q.22). The first 18 questions in the questionnaire have been piloted by Giles et al. (1985) on Greek versus Anglo vitalities in Australia. EV studies on Italian (Gibbons & Ashcroft, 1995), Turkish (Yagmur, 1997, 2009; Yagmur & Akinci, 2003), and Vietnamese (Willemyns et al. 1993) communities have also been conducted. The original English SEVQ (Bourhis et al. 1981) was translated into Turkish and German, and Turkish informants could choose the preferred version of the questionnaire. The same subjective ethnolinguistic questionnaire was also administered to mainstream German informants in a number of cities in Germany. All the questions in the questionnaire are listed in Appendix A.

## 4.4 Procedures

The ultimate *Language, Culture and Identity questionnaire*, consisting of 242 questions in total, was administered to Turkish informants in a number of German cities. Questionnaires were delivered to Turkish organizations and foundations mainly in Hamburg, Essen-Duisburg, Stuttgart, Köln, Mainz, Nuremberg and Munich. Through the heads of some organizations these questionnaires were delivered to voluntary informants. Students of the Turkish Teacher Training Department at Essen-Duisburg University also filled out the questionnaire. The informants filled out the questionnaire in their own time and returned them to the researchers. The questionnaire took approximately 25 minutes to complete.

CHAPTER 5

# Results

In line with the research questions formulated in Chapter 4, the results of the survey study are presented in this chapter. Two generations of Turkish immigrants have been included in this study to find out about their acculturation patterns across generations. Turkish immigrants' ethnic-, religious- and self-identification will be documented along with their language use-choice and preference patterns. In order to reflect on acculturation orientations of both receiving society members and Turkish immigrants, subjective ethnolinguistic vitality perceptions of both German and Turkish informants are presented in this chapter. In section 5.1, background characteristics of the informants are given.

## 5.1 Background characteristics of the informants

In order to study the effects of generation on acculturation patterns of Turkish immigrants, first and second-generation informants are included in the study. Table 5.1 presents the generation and gender distribution among the informants in the German context.

Table 5.1: Generation and gender distribution among the informants

| | First generation | Second generation | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Female | 62 | 78 | 140 |
| Male | 75 | 51 | 126 |
| Total | 137 | 128 | 266 |

As shown in Table 5.1, participation in this study of first-generation informants was higher than that of second-generation informants. Furthermore the number of first-generation male informants was higher than that of first-generation female informants. On the other hand, second-generation female informants did show more interest in this study than second-generation male informants. Birth country data of informants and their parents is presented in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Birth country of informants

| | Informant | Father | Mother |
|---|---|---|---|
| Turkey | 136 (51.1%) | 261 (98.1%) | 259 (97.4%) |
| Germany | 129 (48.5%) | 3 (1.1%) | 6 (2.3%) |
| Other | 1 (.4%) | 2 (.8%) | 1 (.4%) |
| Total | 266 | 266 | 266 |

Half of the informants report Turkey as their birth-country, while most of the parents are born in Turkey. Even though some informants came to Germany when they were young, we only included Germany-born informants in the category of second-generation immigrants. In maintaining cultural practices that belong to the source country, the marriage partner's birth country is a relevant indicator, which is why information on the partner's birth country is presented below. As shown in Table 5.3, the majority (82%) of informants married people who were born in Turkey.

Table 5.3: Marriage partner's birth country

| Number of Married informants | Partners born in Turkey | Partners born in Germany |
|---|---|---|
| 123 | 101 (82.1%) | 22 (17.9%) |

In order to see the intergenerational pattern for the choice of marriage partners, the results of cross tabulation are presented below. From the figures presented in Table 5.4, it is quite clear that second-generation informants tend to also choose Germany-born partners, whereas first-generation informants predominantly marry someone who was also born in Turkey.

Table 5.4: Partners' country of birth across generations

| | First generation | Second generation |
|---|---|---|
| Turkey | 90 (87.4%) | 11 (55.0%) |
| Germany | 13 (12.6%) | 9 (45.0%) |
| Total | 103 (100%) | 20 (100%) |

Contact with the homeland is an important variable in acculturation studies. As can be seen in Table 5.5, half of the informants report that they visit Turkey every year.

Table 5.5: Frequency of visits to homeland

| More than once a year | Every year | Once every two years | Once every three years | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 19 (7.1%) | 130 (48.9%) | 91 (34.2%) | 19 (7.1%) | 259 (97.4%) |

Slightly over 7% of them even visit Turkey more than once a year; while 34% go to Turkey every second year. On the whole, we can conclude that the contact with the homeland is maintained quite well among the informants in this study.

In most studies on language maintenance and shift as well as acculturation, education turns out to be an ambivalent factor. It is highly educated immigrants in particular that appear to shift to the majority language in an immigration context. It has also been shown in acculturation studies that better educated immigrants tend to adopt the cultural values of the host culture much faster than less educated informants (Yagmur & van de Vijver, 2011). In order to bring out the effect of education on acculturation patterns, informants with different educational qualifications are included in this study. Rather than reflecting the general educational profile of Turkish immigrants in Germany, this study includes a large number of well-educated immigrants. This was made possible through the support and cooperation of the Turkish teacher training department of Essen-Duisburg University, whose students took part in the study. The educational profile of the informants is presented in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6: Educational level of informants

| Education Received | N |
|---|---|
| Primary & lower secondary | 70 (26.3%) |
| Upper secondary | 101 (38.0%) |
| Tertiary education | 87 (32.7%) |
| Total | 258 (97.0%) |

## 5.2 Interactive acculturation scale - multiculturalism index

In this section, the findings on the Interactive Acculturation Scale are presented. According to Berry's (1997) bidimensional model and Bourhis et al.'s (1997) ideological clustering model, there is a close connection between host society policies and immigrant groups' acculturation orientations. State integration policies can have a decisive impact on the acculturation orientation of generations of Turkish immigrants as well as on that of members of the host society. In line with our research questions, we present the results of our investigation in this section. Our first research question concerned the degree of influence the receiving societies' integration policies have on acculturation orientations of Turkish immigrants in Germany. As explained in detail in Chapter 4, Section 2, the Interactive Acculturation Scale (IAS) aims at documenting the views and opinions of the informants towards the policies of the receiving society. Immigrant informants present their attitude towards pluralism, integration, or assimilation. In

order to see the possible effects of state integration policies on the host and Turkish immigrant groups, the Interactive Acculturation Scale was administered to 266 Turkish and 129 German informants.

### 5.2.1 Immigrants' interactive acculturation scale (IAS)

In this section, firstly, Turkish immigrants' orientations towards diversity and multiculturalism are presented. In order to bring out the differences between the different generations, an ANOVA test was carried out and the results are presented in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7: Intergenerational differences on IAS - ANOVA test on Turkish immigrants (N=266)

| Variables | G | N | M | SD | F | P |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The host society must accept diversity | FG | 137 | 4.26 | .970 | .115 | .734 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.22 | .831 | | |
| The host society must support language maintenance | FG | 137 | 4.04 | 1.006 | .262 | .609 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.98 | .875 | | |
| Immigrants should shift their culture | FG | 137 | 1.79 | 1.166 | .068 | .794 |
| | SG | 129 | 1.75 | 1.104 | | |
| Multicultural countries deal with difficulties more easily | FG | 137 | 2.66 | 1.113 | .185 | .667 |
| | SG | 121 | 2.69 | 1.033 | | |
| The host society becomes weak as cultural groups maintain their culture | FG | 137 | 2.28 | 1.230 | 2.905 | .089 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.53 | 1.160 | | |
| Cultural groups should keep thoughts of cultural maintenance to themselves | FG | 137 | 2.28 | 1.123 | .076 | .783 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.24 | 1.066 | | |
| It is difficult to maintain a sense of unity in multicultural countries | FG | 137 | 3.00 | 1.157 | .012 | .911 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.02 | 1.111 | | |
| Members of the host society should work harder get to know other groups' cultures | FG | 137 | 3.61 | 1.094 | .060 | .806 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.57 | 1.044 | | |
| Immigrant families should be supported in maintaining their culture | FG | 137 | 4.22 | 1.041 | 2.301 | .130 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.03 | .976 | | |
| Immigrants should be more like Germans | FG | 137 | 1.67 | .948 | .008 | .929 |
| | SG | 129 | 1.68 | .984 | | |

The scale is from 1 (I don't agree at all) to 5 (I fully agree)

As can be seen in Table 5.7, both generations of Turkish immigrants in the German context appear to support pluralistic policies. An ANOVA test between the generations showed that, contrary to expectations, there were no significant differences between first and second generations, which is an intriguing finding. Most informants support pluralistic policies and oppose assimilationist tendencies.

Both generations of informants believe that the host society must accept diversity and also support the maintenance of immigrant cultural values. They also believe that Germans should try harder to get to know the cultural values of immigrant groups. In this context, the results that are listed in Table 5.7 show that Turkish immigrants in Germany support the ideal of multiculturalism and that there are no separatist tendencies in the acculturation orientations in Germany.

### 5.2.2 Host communities' interactive acculturation scale (IAS)

In the literature, Germany is shown to have an ethnist ideology with regard to the integration of ethnic minorities (Bourhis et al. 1997). In order to test this claim at the grassroots level, the same Interactive Acculturation Scale (IAS) was administered to 129 German informants, mainly in Hamburg, Essen-Duisburg, Stuttgart, Bremen and Bielefeld. Assuming that education would play a role in the views and opinions regarding immigrants and their cultural practices in Germany, an ANOVA test was carried out between three groups of German informants. As can be seen in Table 5.8, the results are not supportive of the official integration discourse in Germany. Most German informants accept diversity and some of them even oppose assimilative approaches.

The figures in Table 5.8 indicate that German informants are not against multiculturalism. Far from it in fact, German informants with varying levels of education believe that the host society should support language and cultural maintenance. However, the ANOVA results show that these views find much more support among the informants with university degrees than among less educated informants. These results support our assumption that education plays a role in the views and opinions of Germans with regard to immigrants and their cultural practices in the German context: the more educated informants tend to be more empathic towards multiculturalism. With regard to the second research question, on the mainstream community members' acculturation orientations, it can be claimed that German state policies do not find support among the members of the host society, the least support being found among the more highly educated ones.

Table 5.8: Educational differences on IAS - ANOVA test on German informants (N=129)

| Variables | Education | N | M | S.D. | F | *P* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The host society must accept diversity | SS | 18 | 4.00 | .767 | 3.229 | .043 |
| | HS | 69 | 4.41 | .671 | | |
| | Uni | 34 | 4.50 | .707 | | |
| The host society must support language maintenance | SS | 18 | 3.44 | .984 | 5.746 | .004 |
| | HS | 71 | 3.69 | .904 | | |
| | Uni | 34 | 4.21 | .729 | | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Immigrants should shift to the host culture | SS | 18 | 2.72 | 1.364 | | |
| | HS | 71 | 1.70 | .932 | 7.152 | .001 |
| | Uni | 34 | 1.71 | 1.115 | | |
| Multicultural countries deal with difficulties more easily | SS | 18 | 3.06 | 1.392 | | |
| | HS | 71 | 2.77 | 1.058 | 5.670 | .004 |
| | Uni | 34 | 3.56 | 1.078 | | |
| The host society becomes weak as cultural groups maintain their culture | SS | 18 | 2.56 | 1.042 | | |
| | HS | 71 | 2.04 | 1.034 | 1.603 | .206 |
| | Uni | 34 | 2.21 | 1.250 | | |
| Cultural groups should keep thoughts of cultural maintenance to themselves | SS | 18 | 2.33 | 1.029 | | |
| | HS | 71 | 1.82 | .946 | 2.535 | .084 |
| | Uni | 33 | 1.73 | .977 | | |
| It is difficult to maintain a sense of unity in multicultural countries | SS | 18 | 2.78 | 1.060 | | |
| | HS | 71 | 2.76 | 1.088 | 1.117 | .331 |
| | Uni | 34 | 2.41 | 1.373 | | |
| Members of the host society should work harder get to know other groups' cultures | SS | 18 | 3.61 | .916 | | |
| | HS | 71 | 3.87 | 1.068 | 2.452 | .090 |
| | Uni | 33 | 4.21 | .781 | | |
| Immigrant families should be supported in maintaining their culture | SS | 18 | 3.61 | .916 | | |
| | HS | 71 | 3.58 | .905 | 2.038 | .135 |
| | Uni | 34 | 3.97 | 1.058 | | |
| Immigrants should be more like Germans | SS | 18 | 2.94 | 1.211 | | |
| | HS | 71 | 2.61 | 1.152 | 5.288 | .006 |
| | Uni | 34 | 1.97 | 1.087 | | |

- SS: Secondary School; HS: High School; Uni: University

In order to investigate the factors concerning the multicultural perception of German informants, a factor analysis was carried out (Table 5.9). In this factor analysis, ten variables were subjected to Principal Component Analysis, followed by a Varimax rotation. Based on KMO and Bartlett's Test, a high score of sampling adequacy was obtained (.77). Table 5.9 presents the loadings on the three factors. On the basis of a rotated component matrix, three clear-cut dimensions emerged for the German informants' multiculturalism perception. As seen in Table 5.9, most of the variables in relation to the maintenance of the immigrants' language and culture received high loadings indicating that integration idea finds extensive support in the sample. In the same vein, a second factor clearly emerged as three interrelated variables with very high loadings suggest that assimilation orientation is another underlying dimension of the responses. Finally a third factor with four variables on multiculturalism shows that multiculturalism emerges as an underlying construct in the database and it finds substantial support among German informants.

The analysis makes it clear that there are three underlying constructs in the German responses: assimilation orientation, integration orientation and multiculturalism orientation. The three emerging factors clearly show the heterogenous nature of social groups. The social groups are not homogenous entities; on the contrary, there are competing views regarding multiculturalism and diversity in multi-ethnic societies. The loadings for the item 'immigrants should be more like Germans' (factor 1: -0.632, factor 2: 0.567) constitute a good example to illustrate the variation of German views on multiculturalism. Consequently, although the majority of the informants claim that they are in favour of multiculturalism, there is no overall consensus on the topic if the educational levels of the informants are taken into account.

Table 5.9: Factor analysis of the German informants on multiculturalism

| | Factor 1 Integrationist | Factor 2 Assimilationist | Factor 3 Multiculturalist |
|---|---|---|---|
| Germans must accept diversity | | | .426 |
| Germans must support language maintenance | .558 | | .460 |
| Immigrants should shift their culture | | .697 | |
| Multicultural countries deal with difficulties more easily | | | .843 |
| The host society becomes weak as cultural groups maintain their culture | | .862 | |
| Cultural groups should keep thoughts of cultural maintenance to themselves | | .666 | |
| It is difficult to maintain a sense of unity in multicultural countries | | | -.687 |
| Members of the host society should work harder get to know other groups' cultures | .789 | | |
| Immigrant families should be supported in maintaining their culture | .785 | | |
| Immigrants should be more like Germans | -.632 | .567 | |

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization (rotation converged in 5 iterations).

### 5.2.3 IAS differences between the German and Turkish informants

In order to bring out the Interactive Acculturation Scale differences between the German and Turkish informants, an ANOVA test was carried out. The results are presented in Table 5.10. Both Turkish and German informants in the German

context support the ideal of multiculturalism. The first statement 'The host society must accept diversity' received the highest scores from both Turkish and German informants. Accordingly, the statements related to the host society's support for language and cultural maintenance received very high scores. The statement that got different scores from German and Turkish informants is that immigrants should be more like Germans. Turkish informants showed the lowest score (1.68) on this statement, while German informants showed an average score (2.45) on it.

Table 5.10: IAS Differences between the German and Turkish informants

| Variables | | N | M | S.D. | F | *P* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The host society must accept diversity | Turkish | 266 | 4.24 | .909 | 2.135 | .145 |
| | German | 129 | 4.38 | .701 | | |
| The host society must support language maintenance | Turkish | 266 | 4.02 | .944 | 3.436 | .065 |
| | German | 129 | 3.83 | .911 | | |
| Immigrants should shift to the host culture | Turkish | 266 | 1.77 | 1.134 | .650 | .421 |
| | German | 129 | 1.87 | 1.114 | | |
| Multicultural countries deal with difficulties more easily | Turkish | 266 | 2.69 | 1.072 | .823 | .005 |
| | German | 129 | 3.02 | 1.169 | | |
| The host society becomes weak as cultural groups maintain their culture | Turkish | 266 | 2.41 | 1.201 | 2.835 | .093 |
| | German | 129 | 2.19 | 1.119 | | |
| Cultural groups should keep thoughts of cultural maintenance to themselves | Turkish | 266 | 2.26 | 1.094 | 10.247 | .001 |
| | German | 129 | 1.89 | 1.021 | | |
| It is difficult to maintain a sense of unity in multicultural countries | Turkish | 266 | 3.01 | 1.133 | 5.641 | .018 |
| | German | 129 | 2.71 | 1.200 | | |
| Members of the host society should work harder get to know other groups' cultures | Turkish | 266 | 3.59 | 1.068 | 9.106 | .003 |
| | German | 128 | 3.93 | .998 | | |
| Immigrant families should be supported in maintaining their culture | Turkish | 266 | 4.13 | 1.012 | 13.386 | .000 |
| | German | 129 | 3.74 | .964 | | |
| Immigrants should be more like Germans | Turkish | 266 | 1.68 | .964 | 48.317 | .000 |
| | German | 129 | 2.45 | 1.172 | | |

## 5.3 Self-identification

Ethnic identification and host group identification are important dimensions of our design to understand the Turkish informants' acculturation orientations by exploring both their level of identification with their ethnic group and with the mainstream group. Since ethnicity is basically a sense of belonging to an ancestral group, the focus is on self-identification, commitment to a group, feelings of belonging, a sense of shared values, and attitudes towards one's own ethnic group.

### 5.3.1 Immigrants' ethnic identification

An ethnic identification scale was used to investigate the ethnic identification of Turkish immigrants across generations (Table 5.11).

Table 5.11: Ethnic identification scale (N=266)

| Feeling Turkish | First generation | Second generation | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Don't agree at all | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Don't agree | 5 | 5 | 10 |
| Neither agree nor disagree | 13 | 4 | 17 |
| Agree | 21 | 32 | 53 |
| Definitely agree | 98 | 87 | 185 |
| Total | 137 | 129 | 266 |

As seen in Table 5.11, there is a strong sense of ethnic identification among Turkish immigrants. The underlying characteristic of the findings is that both generations of Turkish immigrants attach almost equal value to their Turkishness. It might be expected that first-generation immigrants have a stronger sense of ethnic identification as they grew up in Turkey and experience large differences between the two cultures. However, second-generation Turkish immigrants grew up in the context of immigration, were socialized and educated in the mainstream community. Hence, their cultural practices and orientations were expected to be much closer to the host group. Nevertheless, they too report a strong identification with their ethnic groups, which is slightly higher even than among the first generation groups.

Psychological motivations might provide an answer to this situation. According to Turner et al.'s (1987) self-categorization theory, individuals are more likely to think of themselves as members of social groups under conditions in which the use of a group label maximizes the similarities between oneself and other group members, and heightens one's differences with outsiders. In the same vein, in social psychology, social identity theory predicts that in response to their low-status position, minority group members will stress their ethnic identity by emphasizing their desired distinctions (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Consequently, apart from cultural distance between German and Turkish groups, the strong stigmatisation of Turkish immigrants in the context of culture and religion might have an effect on the fortification of group boundaries.

As can be seen in Table 5.12, of the 137 first-generation informants, 120 reported self-identifying as Turkish only, while 7 of them self-identify as German and 9 as both Turkish and German. Only 1 first-generation informant reported a combination of three ethnic identities. On the other hand, of the 129 second-generation informants, 112 reported self-identifying as Turkish only, while 5 self-identified as German only and 12 as both Turkish and German.

Table 5.12: Ethnic identification across generations

| | First generation | Second generation | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Turkish | 120 | 112 | 232 |
| German | 7 | 5 | 12 |
| Both | 9 | 12 | 21 |
| Other | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Total | 137 | 129 | 266 |

In line with the research questions deriving from the ideological clustering model, Turkish youngsters in Germany more so than first-generation Turkish immigrants reported their support for the ideal of multiculturalism (research question 2). Accordingly, with reference to research question 4, both generations of Turkish immigrants in Germany identify more strongly with the in-group than with the mainstream group ($F$ (1, 264) = 0.79, $p$ = .779). On the other hand, second-generation immigrants do not identify more strongly with the host group compared to first-generation Turkish informants.

An ANOVA test was employed to bring out the intergenerational differences between immigrants on feeling Turkish.

Table 5.13: Turkish identification across generations (N=266)

| Variables | G | N | M | S.D. | F | *P* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I feel Turkish | FG | 137 | 4.55 | .822 | .002 | .961 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.54 | .800 | | |
| I feel Turkish because I speak Turkish | FG | 137 | 4.43 | .793 | .912 | .341 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.33 | .869 | | |
| I feel Turkish because I am a Muslim | FG | 137 | 4.26 | 1.165 | 2.001 | .158 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.05 | 1.239 | | |
| I feel Turkish because I know a lot about my religion | FG | 137 | 3.70 | 1.107 | 1.904 | .169 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.52 | 1.032 | | |
| I feel Turkish because I live according to my tradition | FG | 137 | 4.04 | 1.025 | 1.928 | .166 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.87 | .947 | | |
| I feel Turkish because my parents are Turkish | FG | 137 | 4.64 | .775 | .405 | .525 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.57 | .798 | | |
| I feel Turkish because I was brought up as a Turk | FG | 137 | 4.52 | .832 | .421 | .517 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.45 | .892 | | |
| I feel Turkish because I look Turkish | FG | 137 | 4.09 | 1.191 | .163 | .687 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.03 | 1.089 | | |
| I feel Turkish because I feel more comfortable among Turks | FG | 137 | 4.26 | .891 | 5.702 | .018 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.98 | 1.011 | | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I feel Turkish because other people consider me as a Turk | FG | 137 | 4.08 | 1.071 | 2.219 | .137 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.88 | 1.080 | | |
| I feel Turkish because German culture doesn't appeal to me | FG | 137 | 3.45 | 1.334 | .950 | .331 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.29 | 1.307 | | |

As can be seen in Table 5.13, both generations of informants show very strong feelings of attachment to their ethnic identity. In the same vein, both generations of immigrants show a strong attachment to their religious values. On the other hand, first-generation Turkish immigrants score higher on this statement than second-generation immigrants, which indicates that first-generation immigrants tend to be more religiously oriented compared to second-generation immigrants. Yet, these differences do not reach statistical significance.

In order to understand the factors contributing to Turkish ethnic identification, a factor analysis was done on the Turkish identification scale (Table 5.14). In this factor analysis, generation was used as a selection variable to investigate the underlying dimensions for each generation.

Table 5.14: Self-identification factor analysis - first generation

| Variables in the Scale | Factor 1 Self-subscription | Factor 2 Ascribed Identity | Factor 3 Cultural Detachment |
|---|---|---|---|
| Feeling Turkish | .632 | | |
| Feeling Turkish because I speak Turkish | .590 | | |
| Feeling Turkish because I am a Muslim | .838 | | |
| Feeling Turkish because I know a lot about my religion | .785 | | |
| Feeling Turkish because I live according to my tradition | .798 | | |
| Feeling Turkish because my parents are Turkish | .566 | | |
| Feeling Turkish because I was brought up as a Turk | .733 | | |
| Feeling Turkish because I look like a Turk | | .849 | |
| Feeling Turkish because I feel more comfortable among the Turks | | .407 | |
| Feeling Turkish because other people consider me as a Turk | | .902 | |
| Feeling Turkish because German culture doesn't appeal to me | | | .969 |

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization (rotation converged in 4 iterations).

Eleven variables in the Turkish identification scale were subjected to Principal Component Analysis, followed by a Varimax rotation. Based on KMO and Bartlett's Test, a very high score of sampling adequacy was obtained (.84). Table 5.14 presents the loadings on the three factors. On the basis of a rotated component matrix, a three factor solution emerged for the first generation. Most of the variables in relation to the subjective feeling of Turkishness have equal loadings. Turkish language, religion, ancestry, tradition and sense of Turkish group membership turned out to be interrelated for the first-generation's ethnic identification. A second factor clearly emerges as two interrelated variables with very high loadings on their physical appearence and the host society's perception of their ethnic identity. A third factor emerges as a single variable with a very high loading on the cultural distance to the German group.

For the second generation the same procedure was followed (Table 5.15). Eleven variables in the Turkish identification scale were subjected to Principal Component Analysis, followed by a Varimax rotation. Based on KMO and Bartlett's Test, a high score of sampling adequacy was obtained (.84).

Table 5.15: Self-identification factor analysis - second generation

| | Factor 1 Self-subscription | Factor 2 Ascribed Identity | Factor 3 Cultural Detachment |
|---|---|---|---|
| Feeling Turkish | .481 | | |
| Feeling Turkish because I speak Turkish | .597 | | |
| Feeling Turkish because I am a Muslim | .678 | | |
| Feeling Turkish because I know a lot about my religion | .829 | | |
| Feeling Turkish because I live according to my tradition | .679 | | |
| Feeling Turkish because my parents are Turkish | .539 | | |
| Feeling Turkish because I was brought up as a Turk | .560 | | |
| Feeling Turkish because I look like a Turk | | .780 | |
| Feeling Turkish because I feel more comfortable among the Turks | | .720 | |
| Feeling Turkish because other people consider me as a Turk | | .902 | |
| Feeling Turkish because German culture doesn't suit me | | | .957 |

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization (rotation converged in 5 iterations).

On the basis of a rotated component matrix, a three factor solution emerged for the second-generation informants as well. As can be seen in Table 5.15, the loadings for the same variables and same factors are very similar to the findings for the first-generation informants. Turkish language, religion, ancestry, tradition and sense of Turkish group membership turned out to be interrelated for the second-generation's ethnic identification as well. As with the first generation, the second factor emerges as two interrelated variables with very high loadings on their physical appearance and the host society's perception of their ethnic identity. However, the variable 'I feel Turkish because I feel comfortable among Turks' received a higher loading than with the first generation. Similar to the first generation, a third factor emerges as a single variable with a very high loading on the cultural distance to the German group. It is clear that both generations' self-identification is highly comparable.

Regarding research question 5, the findings show that for Turkish immigrants, generation is not a predictor of self-identification in Germany. Ethnic identification appears to have more explanatory power than ethnic cultural involvement with the dominant culture. In the same vein, ethnic identity is shown to be directly related to the degree of acculturation.

### 5.3.2 Identification with the mainstream society

An ANOVA test was carried out on the Turkish immigrants' identification with the mainstream society to look for intergenerational differences. The results are presented in Table 5.16.

Table 5.16: German identification across generations (N=266)

| Feeling German because | G | N | M | S.D. | F | *P* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feeling German | FG | 137 | 1.63 | .916 | 1.651 | .200 |
| | SG | 129 | 1.78 | 1.053 | | |
| I speak German | FG | 137 | 2.82 | 1.289 | .005 | .942 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.84 | 1.494 | | |
| I know the German mentality | FG | 137 | 2.74 | 1.214 | 2.618 | .107 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.00 | 1.431 | | |
| I live according to German tradition | FG | 137 | 2.09 | 1.049 | 2.223 | .137 |
| | SG | 129 | 1.91 | 1.003 | | |
| I was brought up as a German | FG | 137 | 1.58 | .881 | .942 | .333 |
| | SG | 129 | 1.48 | .719 | | |
| I look German | FG | 137 | 1.72 | 1.071 | 4.428 | .036 |
| | SG | 129 | 1.47 | .848 | | |
| I feel more comfortable among Germans | FG | 137 | 2.18 | .977 | .002 | .969 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.17 | .945 | | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Other people consider me as a German | FG | 137 | 1.85 | .928 | 4.413 | .037 |
| | SG | 129 | 1.63 | .820 | | |
| Turkish culture doesn't suit me | FG | 137 | 2.16 | 1.238 | 2.801 | .095 |
| | SG | 129 | 1.91 | 1.153 | | |

As can be seen in Table 5.16, second-generation Turkish informants claim to have more knowledge of the German language and German mentality than first-generation informants. Accordingly, second-generation informants' feeling of being German is higher than with the first generation informants. However, on the other statements they show lower scores than the first generation, whose identification with the German community is slightly higher. Even though the differences are not significant, the higher scores on identification with the German community among the first generation is highly intriguing.

## 5.4 Cultural identity

Culture has many definitions, depending on historical, behavioural, normative, functional, mental or structural elements and symbolic meanings. In our study, material elements, symbolic meanings, and certain relevant cultural values were incorporated to reflect the cultural orientation of our informants. Because cultural practices cannot be divorced from their social context, a number of research questions on Turkish immigrants' social contacts were included in this study as well. The ANOVA tests below were carried out to investigate the actual amount of contact between the immigrants and members of the host society to bring out the social integration patterns of immigrants across generations.

### 5.4.1 Turkish cultural identity

An ANOVA test was carried out to investigate the differences in Turkish cultural identity among Turkish informants across generations. As seen in Table 5.17, all the statements got very high scores, showing Turkish immigrants' high esteem for their own cultural identity. They report that they are happy being Turkish and being close to other Turks. They also report that being Turkish is an important aspect of their personality. Even though they are proud of being Turkish and they often say 'we/us, Turks', they also believe that being Turkish does not say anything about the kind of person they are, and they totally disagree that 'they look like Turks' in many ways. In all statements, although the differences between the generations are not significant, first-generation Turkish immigrants have a stronger Turkish cultural identity than the second generation. The last statement 'I look like a Turk in many ways' got the lowest score from the Turkish informants. This statement in combination with the statement 'being Turkish does not say anything about the

kind of person I am' implies that Turkish immigrants are not happy with their being classified by host community members on the basis of their physical appearance and ethnic identity.

Table 5.17: Turkish cultural identity scale (N=266)

| Variables | G | N | M | S.D. | F | *P* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I feel happy being Turkish | FG | 137 | 4.45 | .857 | .146 | .703 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.41 | .924 | | |
| I feel close to Turks | FG | 137 | 4.15 | .928 | .046 | .830 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.17 | .936 | | |
| I feel sorry being Turkish | FG | 137 | 1.33 | .729 | .377 | .540 |
| | SG | 129 | 1.39 | .841 | | |
| Being Turkish does not say anything about the kind of person I am | FG | 137 | 3.91 | 1.150 | .836 | .361 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.78 | 1.168 | | |
| When Turks are being talked about I feel it is also about me | FG | 137 | 4.23 | 1.066 | 2.464 | .118 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.02 | 1.199 | | |
| Being Turkish is an important aspect of my personality | FG | 137 | 4.37 | .985 | 1.047 | .307 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.24 | 1.116 | | |
| I'm proud of being Turkish | FG | 137 | 3.61 | 1.165 | 2.226 | .137 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.39 | 1.220 | | |
| I often say "we/us, Turks" | FG | 137 | 3.75 | .953 | 6.675 | .010 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.43 | 1.052 | | |
| I look like other Turks in many ways | FG | 137 | 1.47 | .758 | .162 | .688 |
| | SG | 129 | 1.50 | .730 | | |

### 5.4.2 German cultural identity

An ANOVA test was carried out to investigate the level of attachment to German cultural identity among Turkish informants across generations (Table 5.18).

As can be seen in Table 5.18, all statements concerning German identification got very low scores from the Turkish immigrants of both generations. The statement that received the highest score compared to other statements is the one about feeling close to Germans (2.66 for the first, 2.54 for the second generation). In this respect, we can say that in contrast to their identification with Turkish cultural practices, Turkish immigrants have a very low level of identification with German cultural practices. The intriguing thing about this result is that although second-generation Turkish immigrants grow up, are educated and socialized in Germany, their German cultural identity perception turned out to be very similar to that of first-generation immigrants. The statement 'I feel sorry for being like a German' received very low scores from the informants of both generations. This

result apparently clashes with the results of other statements: most probably this statement was misinterpreted by the informants.

Table 5.18: German cultural identity scale (N=266)

| Variables | G | N | M | S.D. | F | *P* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I'm happy being like a German | FG | 137 | 1.98 | 1.025 | 1.389 | .240 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.12 | .992 | | |
| I feel close to Germans | FG | 137 | 2.66 | 1.385 | .489 | .485 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.54 | 1.275 | | |
| Being like a German doesn't determine my personality | FG | 137 | 1.58 | .811 | 6.109 | .014 |
| | SG | 129 | 1.36 | .622 | | |
| When Germans are being talked about I feel it is about me | FG | 137 | 1.53 | .850 | 3.058 | .082 |
| | SG | 129 | 1.36 | .716 | | |
| Being like a German is an important part of my personality | FG | 137 | 2.00 | 1.200 | .003 | .959 |
| | SG | 129 | 1.99 | 1.241 | | |
| I feel sorry for being like a German | FG | 137 | 1.42 | .744 | 4.423 | .036 |
| | SG | 129 | 1.26 | .456 | | |
| I often say " we/us, Germans" | FG | 137 | 1.58 | .905 | .002 | .962 |
| | SG | 129 | 1.59 | .863 | | |

### 5.4.3 Turkish cultural norms and behaviour

An ANOVA test was carried out to investigate the intergenerational differences for Turkish cultural norms and behaviour. The findings are presented in Table 5.19.

The ANOVA results in Table 5.19 show intergenerational differences between Turkish immigrants on Turkish cultural norms and behaviour. Compared to the second generation, first-generation immigrants indicate that they are more familiar with Turkish culture, traditions and social rules. Similarly, first-generation immigrants show the same tendency with regard to cultural values and cultural activities. It is to be expected that first-generation informants would watch Turkish news since their Turkish (language competence) is most probably better than their German (language competence). The findings reported in Table 5.29 support the assumption that first-generation informants make use of the Turkish language in a greater variety of domains than the second-generation informants. Turkish food and music apparently have a high appeal for both generations.

Table 5.19: Turkish cultural norms and behaviour - ANOVA analysis between generations (N=266)

| Variables | G | N | M | S.D. | F | *P* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I know Turkish culture very well | FG | 137 | 4.10 | .689 | 8.427 | .004 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.84 | .798 | | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I am familiar with many Turkish traditions and apply them | FG | 137 | 3.95 | .834 | 3.927 | .049 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.74 | .850 | | |
| I am familiar with Turkish society rules and their implementation | FG | 137 | 4.12 | .762 | 2.179 | .141 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.98 | .780 | | |
| Turkish cultural values (flag, history) mean a lot to me | FG | 137 | 4.37 | .932 | .662 | .416 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.28 | .935 | | |
| Turkish culture is an important aspect of my life | FG | 137 | 4.35 | .828 | .227 | .634 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.30 | .816 | | |
| Turkish culture improves my life | FG | 137 | 4.29 | .850 | 1.055 | .305 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.19 | .811 | | |
| I live in accordance with the rules of Turkish culture | FG | 137 | 4.05 | .877 | 7.978 | .005 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.74 | .940 | | |
| I listen to Turkish music | FG | 137 | 4.31 | .889 | .011 | .917 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.33 | .937 | | |
| I watch Turkish news | FG | 137 | 4.16 | .941 | 5.332 | .022 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.88 | 1.068 | | |
| I prefer Turkish food | FG | 137 | 4.45 | .804 | 1.535 | .217 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.56 | .672 | | |
| In my spare time, I take part in Turkish cultural activities | FG | 137 | 3.85 | .977 | .436 | .510 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.77 | .980 | | |

### 5.4.4 German cultural norms and behaviour

An ANOVA test was carried out to bring out the intergenerational differences between Turkish immigrants regarding German cultural norms and behaviour. The findings are presented in Table 5.20.

As can be seen in Table 5.20, second-generation Turkish immigrants reported higher familiarity with German culture and German society rules than the first generation. Accordingly, they watch German news and listen to German music more than first generation. However, second-generation Turkish immigrants show significantly less attachment to German cultural values than the first generation, which is highly intriguing. In the same vein, their preference for German food and for taking part in German cultural activities is less than in the first-generation. On the other hand, statements such as 'German culture being an important aspect' and 'adherence to the rules of German culture' show similar opinions among the immigrants of both generations.

Table 5.20: German cultural norms and behaviour-ANOVA analysis between generations (N=266)

| Variables | G | N | M | S.D. | F | *P* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I know German culture very well | FG | 137 | 2.98 | .911 | 6.489 | .011 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.25 | .810 | | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I am familiar with many German traditions and apply them | FG | 137 | 2.22 | .921 | .466 | .496 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.15 | .782 | | |
| I am familiar with German society rules and their implementation | FG | 137 | 3.04 | 1.124 | 7.579 | .006 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.40 | .996 | | |
| German cultural values (flag, history) mean a lot to me | FG | 137 | 2.52 | .978 | 9.957 | .002 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.15 | .936 | | |
| German culture is an important aspect of my life | FG | 137 | 2.15 | 1.035 | .091 | .763 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.12 | .957 | | |
| German culture improves my life | FG | 137 | 2.52 | 1.112 | .261 | .610 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.45 | 1.075 | | |
| I live in accordance with German cultural norms | FG | 137 | 2.13 | 1.006 | .474 | .492 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.22 | 1.023 | | |
| I listen to German music | FG | 137 | 2.41 | 1.033 | 2.782 | .096 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.65 | 1.327 | | |
| I watch German news | FG | 137 | 3.73 | 1.018 | 1.139 | .287 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.86 | .974 | | |
| I prefer German food | FG | 137 | 2.38 | 1.037 | .125 | .724 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.33 | 1.092 | | |
| In my spare time, I take part in German cultural activities | FG | 137 | 2.69 | .937 | .372 | .542 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.61 | 1.033 | | |

On the basis of the results, we can make the following generalizations about Turkish immigrants' attitudes towards both Turkish and German cultural norms and behaviour. Turkish immigrants indicate that they are quite familiar with both Turkish and German culture and that they are aware of the cultural differences. However, there is a strong Turkish cultural identification among the informants in both generations. Both generations are keen on maintaining Turkish cultural practices. In the same vein, Turkish immigrants show a positive evaluation of Turkish cultural symbols, norms and behaviour while showing a medium level of appreciation for German cultural symbols, norms and behaviour. There is a medium level of adherence to host cultural practices among Turkish immigrants of both generations. On the basis of these results it becomes clear that no matter whether the informants were born, educated and socialized in Germany or in Turkey, both generations adhere more to Turkish cultural practices, norms and values than they do to German ones.

In line with the outcomes above, the set of questions related to the cultural identity of the Turkish informants was examined. Turkish informants report that they are quite familiar with both Turkish and German culture and they report that they are aware of cultural differences (research question 9). Accordingly, the informants of both generations maintain Turkish cultural practices. Turkish informants report much less adherence to host cultural practices. Even though informants exhibit higher levels of attachment to Turkish cultural practices and

values, Turkish informants report an equally high level of bicultural adherence (research question 10). As expected, regarding adherence to German cultural practices, second-generation informants report a higher attachment compared to the first generation (research question 11). On the whole, the informants of both generations report a very positive evaluation of Turkish cultural norms, symbols and behaviour, and there do not seem to be any significant differences between attitudes and actual practices across generations. Finally, the informants of both generations report a low evaluation of German cultural norms, symbols and behaviour, and there do not seem to be any significant differences between attitudes and actual practices across generations.

## 5.5 Religious identity

Given the weight of religious identity for Muslims, the religious identification of Turkish informants was assessed. An ANOVA test was carried out to explore the differences between the religious orientations of Turkish immigrants across generations. As can be seen in Table 5.21, religion turned out to be one of the core dimensions of Turkish identity for both generations of Turkish immigrants. There seems to be a consensus among Turkish immigrants that religious identity is an important dimension of their Turkish ethnic identification. First-generation informants report higher levels of religious identification compared to the second generation but the differences between them would seem to be quite insignificant. As described in detail in Chapter 3, Turkish immigrants are not equally religious in terms of their knowledge and practice, and just like Christian groups, Islamic groups are not homogenous.

As is apparent in Table 5.21, first-generation informants report higher levels than the second generation on the knowledge of Islam, Islamic rules, and religious practice. Accordingly, compared to the second generation, they seem to be inspired more by Islam as regards their work and their private lives as well as in terms of practising Islam and in their preference for halal meat. However, both generations report similar practices regarding fasting and celebrating religious festivals, which might imply that symbolic identification with Islam is equally important for both generations.

Since social identity carries more sense when there is 'comparison' with other groups and since individuals have a drive to belong to groups the membership of which gives them pride and satisfaction, religion is an important dimension for defining a positive social identity for Turkish immigrants. Verkuyten (2007: 343) suggests that religion is often of profound importance to people's lives and religious groups are among the more salient buttresses of identity. In addition,

strong stigmatisation of Islam in media coverage and in general might drive Turkish immigrants to their own group participation.

Table 5.21: Religious identity scale - ANOVA analysis between generations (N=266)

| Variables | G | N | M | S.D. | F | *P* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I'm a Muslim | FG | 137 | 4.58 | .913 | .108 | .743 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.62 | .886 | | |
| I know a lot about Islam | FG | 137 | 3.76 | .895 | .047 | .829 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.74 | .815 | | |
| I know Islamic rules very well | FG | 137 | 3.91 | .873 | .177 | .674 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.86 | .855 | | |
| I know how to observe religious practice | FG | 137 | 3.91 | .996 | .002 | .964 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.91 | .988 | | |
| I feel a strong bond with other Muslims | FG | 137 | 3.83 | 1.141 | .875 | .350 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.70 | 1.203 | | |
| Islam means a lot to me | FG | 137 | 4.20 | 1.058 | .097 | .756 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.16 | 1.124 | | |
| When Muslims are being talked about, I feel it is about me | FG | 137 | 3.97 | 1.156 | .039 | .844 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.00 | 1.269 | | |
| Islamic rules should be strictly obeyed | FG | 137 | 3.23 | 1.202 | .003 | .955 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.22 | 1.318 | | |
| I take Islamic rules into consideration when I decide about things | FG | 137 | 3.30 | 1.203 | .419 | .518 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.20 | 1.259 | | |
| In Germany, Islam should play a role in social and political issues | FG | 137 | 3.02 | 1.134 | 1.221 | .270 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.86 | 1.248 | | |
| Islam is also about one's private life | FG | 137 | 4.01 | 1.101 | 2.249 | .135 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.22 | .986 | | |
| I'm inspired by Islam for my work and for my private life | FG | 137 | 3.61 | 1.133 | .738 | .391 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.48 | 1.244 | | |
| I live on without giving Islamic rules priority | FG | 137 | 3.01 | 1.278 | .533 | .466 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.89 | 1.307 | | |
| I'm a Muslim observing my religious practice | FG | 137 | 3.59 | 1.141 | 4.552 | .034 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.30 | 1.108 | | |
| I fast | FG | 137 | 4.16 | 1.158 | .021 | .885 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.14 | 1.223 | | |
| I celebrate Islamic festivals | FG | 137 | 4.47 | .814 | .003 | .953 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.48 | .902 | | |
| I prefer halal meat | FG | 137 | 4.28 | 1.104 | .668 | .415 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.17 | 1.173 | | |

In order to understand the dimensions contributing to religious identification, a factor analysis was carried out on the Turkish religious identification scale (Table 5.22). In this factor analysis, generation was used as a selection variable to investigate the underlying dimensions for each generation. Seventeen variables in the religious identification scale were subjected to Principal Component Analysis, followed by a Varimax rotation. Based on KMO and Bartlett's Test, a very high score of sampling adequacy was obtained (.93).

Table 5.22: Factor analysis for religious identity - first generation (N=266)

| | Factor 1 | Factor 2 | Factor 3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| I'm a Muslim | .671 | | |
| I know a lot about Islam | .754 | | |
| I know Islamic rules very well | .740 | | |
| I know how to observe religious practice | .740 | | |
| I feel a strong bond with other Muslims | .640 | .557 | |
| Islam means a lot to me | .708 | .445 | |
| When Muslims are being talked about, I feel it is about me | .573 | .562 | |
| Islamic rules should be strictly obeyed | .448 | .740 | |
| I take Islamic rules into consideration when I decide about things | .493 | .722 | |
| In Germany, Islam should play a role in social and political issues | | .800 | |
| Islam is also about one's private life | .532 | | |
| I'm inspired by Islam for my work and my private life | .651 | .430 | |
| I live on without giving Islamic rules priority | | | .902 |
| I'm a Muslim observing my religious practice | .751 | | |
| I fast | .768 | | |
| I celebrate my religious festivals | .704 | | |
| I prefer halal meat | .719 | | |

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization (rotation converged in 5 iterations).

Table 5.22 presents the results of a factor analysis with loadings on three factors. On the basis of a rotated component matrix, a three factor solution emerged for the first generation. As can be seen in the table, most variables on the meaning of Islam and religious practice such as being Muslim and knowing Islamic rules, fasting, celebrating religious festivals and preferring halal meat are interrelated for the first-generation's religious identification with high loadings. A second factor clearly emerges as five interrelated variables with high loadings on the perception

that Islam is not only a personal matter, but also a power that should play a role in social and political issues and Islamic rules should be strictly obeyed. A third factor emerges as a single variable with a very high loading on giving Islamic rules priority: Islam should be taken into consideration as a life style.

For the second generation, the same procedure was followed. Eleven variables in the Turkish identification scale were subjected to Principal Component Analysis, followed by a Varimax rotation. Based on KMO and Bartlett's Test, a very high score of sampling adequacy was obtained (.92). Table 5.23 presents the loadings on the three factors. On the basis of a rotated component matrix a three factor solution emerged for second-generation informants.

Table 5.23: Factor analysis for religious identity - second generation

| | Factor 1 | Factor 2 | Factor 3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| I'm a Muslim | .757 | | |
| I know a lot about Islam | .411 | | .563 |
| I know Islamic rules very well | .480 | | .557 |
| I know how to observe religious practice | .649 | | .407 |
| I feel a strong bond with other Muslims | .420 | .769 | |
| Islam means a lot to me | .658 | .600 | |
| When Muslims are being talked about, I feel it is about me | | .773 | |
| Islamic rules should be strictly obeyed | .425 | .798 | |
| I take Islamic rules into consideration when I decide about things | .531 | .689 | |
| In Germany, Islam should play a role in social and political issues | | .824 | |
| Islam is also about one's private life | | | .407 |
| I'm inspired by Islam for my work and my private life | .444 | .748 | |
| I live on without giving Islamic rules priority | .455 | | -.667 |
| I'm a Muslim observing my religious practice | .576 | .502 | |
| I fast | .847 | | |
| I celebrate my religious festivals | .765 | | |
| I prefer halal meat | .810 | | |

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization (rotation converged in 5 iterations).

As can be seen in Table 5.23, as with the first generation, most variables on the meaning of Islam and religious practice such as being Muslim and knowing Islamic rules, fasting, celebrating religious festivals and preferring halal meat are also

interrelated for the second-generation's religious identification with relatively high loadings. With regard to religious practice, second-generation informants do not have high loadings compared to the first generation. A second factor clearly emerges as six interrelated variables with high loadings on the perception that Islam is not only a personal matter, but also a power that should play a role in social and political issues and Islamic rules should be strictly obeyed. A third factor emerges including four variables with relatively high loadings suggesting that second-generation informants consider Islam as a private matter.

Regarding research question 6, the findings from the ANOVA and factor analyses for both first and second-generation Turkish immigrants make it clear that religious identification is very high among both generations. Turkish immigrants in Germany apparently are religiously oriented while first-generation immigrants turn out to be more religious than the second generation. Our findings confirm that some Turkish immigrants make a clear distinction between symbolic identification and actual religious practice (research question 7). A significant number of second-generation informants observe Islamic rules less strictly compared to the first generation (research question 8).

## 5.6 Social networks

Social networks of immigrants and domains of acculturation are two important factors for immigrants to be able to participate in the mainstream society. If an immigrant's access to the mainstream society is only through his or her work, or through school, the chances of actual socio-cultural integration stay limited. In order to study the socio-cultural integration patterns of Turkish immigrants across generations, their social contacts with ethnic minority members and with host society members were investigated.

### 5.6.1 Social networks with Turks

An ANOVA test was carried out to examine the Turkish informants' social networks. One would expect a clear difference between first and second-generation informants regarding their social network structures. First-generation informants would be expected to be oriented more towards other Turkish speakers while second-generation informants would be expected to have more contacts with German speakers. However, as can be seen in Table 5.24, Turkish immigrants of both generations have very strong social networks in terms of contacts with other Turkish speakers. There is no difference between first and second-generation informants in this respect. However, first-generation informants reported being more inclined to have a membership of Turkish clubs, to go to places attended by other Turkish people, and to feel more comfortable among Turks. On the other

hand, second-generation Turkish informants reported having close and intimate relationships with Turkish friends whom they feel they can confide in as well.

Table 5.24: Social networks with Turks - ANOVA analysis between generations (N=266)

| Variables | G | N | M | *S.D.* | F | *P* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I have many Turkish friends | FG | 137 | 4.28 | .755 | .292 | .589 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.22 | .831 | | |
| I go to the places where Turkish people are concentrated | FG | 137 | 3.35 | 1.192 | 6.309 | .013 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.98 | 1.234 | | |
| I'm member of a Turkish club | FG | 137 | 3.12 | 1.583 | 10.656 | .001 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.50 | 1.511 | | |
| There are many Turks living in my neighbourhood | FG | 137 | 3.44 | 1.143 | .001 | .979 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.43 | 1.243 | | |
| I feel more comfortable among Turks | FG | 137 | 3.87 | .991 | .602 | .438 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.78 | .970 | | |
| I know Turks very well | FG | 137 | 4.17 | .828 | .195 | .659 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.21 | .692 | | |
| I like the way Turks approach each other | FG | 137 | 3.64 | .872 | 5.731 | .017 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.91 | .931 | | |
| I have a close relationship with my family | FG | 137 | 4.54 | .653 | .639 | .425 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.47 | .719 | | |
| I have a close relationship with Turkish friends | FG | 137 | 4.23 | .816 | .162 | .687 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.27 | .704 | | |
| I have Turkish friends that I consider intimate friends | FG | 137 | 3.95 | .988 | .301 | .584 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.02 | .992 | | |
| I confide in my Turkish friends | FG | 137 | 3.92 | .978 | .362 | .548 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.99 | .988 | | |
| I ask for help from my Turkish friends | FG | 137 | 3.87 | .906 | .908 | .342 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.76 | .958 | | |

### 5.6.2 Social networks with Germans

In order to bring out the amount of social contact with German speakers, an ANOVA test was carried out between first and second-generation Turkish immigrants. The results are presented in Table 5.25.

As far as intergenerational differences are concerned, one would expect second-generation Turkish immigrants to have much more contact with German speakers than first-generation immigrants. As can be seen in Table 5.25, second-generation informants did indeed report having more social contact with Germans compared to first-generation informants: they have many German friends, go to places where German people are concentrated, feel more comfortable among Germans, have

close and intimate relationships with Germans and confide in them. Accordingly, second-generation informants feel that they know Germans better than first-generation informants.

Table 5.25: Social networks with Germans - ANOVA analysis between generations (N=266)

| Variables | G | N | M | S.D. | F | *P* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I have many German friends | FG | 137 | 3.07 | .863 | 8.434 | .004 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.40 | .947 | | |
| I go to places where German people are concentrated | FG | 137 | 2.39 | .852 | .364 | .547 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.47 | 1.061 | | |
| I'm member of a German club | FG | 137 | 1.96 | 1.101 | 2.827 | .094 |
| | SG | 129 | 1.74 | 1.101 | | |
| I feel more comfortable among Germans | FG | 137 | 2.62 | .948 | 1.520 | .219 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.76 | .891 | | |
| I know Germans very well | FG | 137 | 3.18 | .999 | 11.567 | .001 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.57 | .865 | | |
| I like the way Germans approach each other | FG | 137 | 2.66 | 1.046 | .002 | .964 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.65 | 1.013 | | |
| I have a close relationship with German friends | FG | 137 | 2.95 | .942 | 3.003 | .084 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.17 | 1.140 | | |
| I have German friends that I consider intimate friends | FG | 137 | 2.69 | 1.034 | 1.202 | .274 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.84 | 1.211 | | |
| I confide in my German friends | FG | 137 | 2.39 | 1.080 | .862 | .354 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.51 | 1.112 | | |
| I ask for help from my German friends | FG | 137 | 2.53 | .940 | .101 | .751 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.49 | .969 | | |

On the other hand, first-generation informants showed a slightly higher evaluation for the statement related to asking for help from German friends. Being a member of a German club does not seem to be appealing for Turkish immigrants. Even though there are no statistically significant differences between the generations, on the whole, the second-generation Turkish immigrants have a stronger tendency towards biculturalism than the first-generation immigrants.

### 5.6.3 Extent of social contacts among the informants

In order to see the intergenerational preferences of Turkish immigrants regarding their social contacts with Turkish and German speakers, a cross-tabulation was done. The results are presented in Table 5.26.

Table 5.26: Amount of contact with Turks/Germans - generation cross-tabulation

| I'm in contact with Turks/Germans | First generation | Second generation | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Only Turks | 12 | 14 | 26 |
| Mostly Turks | 88 | 70 | 158 |
| Equal | 34 | 42 | 76 |
| Mostly Germans | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| Total | 137 | 129 | 266 |

When we examine the results in Table 5.26, it is clear that most of the first and second-generation informants are in contact mostly with other Turks. Of the 137 first-generation informants, 88 reported being in contact mostly with Turks, while 34 reported a more or less equal amount of contact with Turks and Germans. Only 3 informants reported having contact only with Germans. On the other hand, of the 129 second-generation informants, 70 reported being in contact mostly with Turks, while 42 reported having an equal amount of contact with Turks and Germans. As with the first-generation informants, only 3 second-generation informants reported having contact only with Germans. In the literature, second and subsequent generations are said to be more oriented towards the mainstream community as they grow older, because they are educated and socialized in the context of immigration. Hence, the fact that almost no differences between first and second generations regarding their social contacts can be observed is an intriguing outcome.

The results presented in this section show that second-generation Turkish immigrants have slightly more interaction with mainstream German people but the differences between generations are relatively small. Given the hardened group boundaries in the European context, the findings confirm that social contact between Turkish immigrants and German speakers is relatively low in the German context (research question 12). On the other hand, regarding research question 13, although the differences are relatively small across generations, second-generation informants' involvement with the out-group is stronger compared to the first generation, while first-generation informants' involvement with the in-group is higher than in the second generation. Finally, the findings show that the informants of both generations tend to be in-group oriented as can be expected from a collectivistic group in an individualistically oriented society.

## 5.7 Adherence to ethnic and mainstream cultural norms

By using the Ethnic and Mainstream Cultural Norms Scale, the attitudes of the informants regarding Turkish and German norms and values, as well as the vitality

of the respective groups are documented in this section. Moreover, the results on the degree of institutional support for cultural maintenance and the extent of exclusion experienced in the mainstream community are presented.

### 5.7.1 Turkish group vitality

As pointed out by Fishman (1985), positive attitudes towards the community language alone do not always lead to language maintenance. If the (first) language is intertwined as a core value with other core values such as religion and historical consciousness, language maintenance can be achieved. Because language is bound up with social identity, subjective perceptions of language vitality influence whether people promote, maintain, or lose their distinctive language or culture. In this respect, it is essential to reflect on Turkish immigrants' perceptions of group values promoting the maintenance of their community language and culture. An ANOVA test was carried out to explore Turkish immigrants' group vitality in Germany, the results of which are presented in Table 5.27.

When we examine the findings in Table 5.27, it is clear that both generations of Turkish informants show a high degree of Turkish vitality. One would expect a higher Turkish vitality perception among the first generation immigrants compared to the second generation. However, in spite of insignificant differences between them, informants of both generations show similar degrees of Turkish vitality perception.

Table 5.27: Turkish group vitality - ANOVA analysis between generations (N=266)

| Variables | G | N | M | S.D. | F | *P* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| If Turks give up speaking Turkish, they lose their Turkishness | FG | 137 | 3.77 | 1.208 | .375 | .541 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.85 | 1.083 | | |
| If Turks don't know and don't practise Islam, they lose their Turkishness | FG | 137 | 3.53 | 1.261 | .679 | .411 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.40 | 1.308 | | |
| If Turks give up their customs, they lose their Turkishness | FG | 137 | 3.91 | 1.128 | .528 | .468 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.01 | 1.004 | | |
| Turks in Germany can work together as a group | FG | 137 | 3.42 | .913 | .027 | .870 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.43 | .883 | | |
| Turks in Germany are well-organised as a group | FG | 137 | 3.07 | .893 | .441 | .507 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.98 | 1.097 | | |
| Turks in Germany have enough associations to preserve their interests | FG | 137 | 3.35 | .936 | .222 | .638 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.29 | .995 | | |
| Turkish associations in Germany have a good impact on the Turks | FG | 137 | 3.62 | .986 | .829 | .363 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.51 | .961 | | |
| Turks in Germany always support each other | FG | 137 | 3.34 | .903 | .424 | .516 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.42 | .990 | | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Turks in Germany are being represented well by politicians | FG | 137 | 2.44 | .984 | .081 | .776 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.40 | 1.012 | | |
| Germans think negatively about Turks | FG | 137 | 3.45 | 1.070 | .112 | .739 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.49 | 1.032 | | |
| Germans value Turkish culture and language | FG | 137 | 2.37 | .924 | .273 | .602 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.43 | 1.007 | | |
| Germans have negative attitudes towards Turkish culture | FG | 137 | 3.37 | .955 | .937 | .334 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.49 | 1.001 | | |
| Germans discriminate against Turks | FG | 137 | 3.42 | 1.136 | .709 | .400 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.53 | 1.016 | | |
| In Germany, there are enough facilities to learn Turkish culture and language | FG | 137 | 2.94 | 1.123 | .763 | .383 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.82 | 1.114 | | |
| There are enough facilities around (mosque, café, butcher's, etc.) for Turks | FG | 137 | 3.90 | 1.066 | 1.608 | .206 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.73 | 1.109 | | |
| Turks have enough news resources (TV, newspaper) in Germany | FG | 137 | 4.20 | .821 | .770 | .381 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.10 | .967 | | |
| Turks know how to get support from their society when needed | FG | 137 | 3.43 | .946 | .523 | .470 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.51 | .876 | | |
| In 20 to 30 years, Turks will be more organised and unified in Germany | FG | 137 | 3.36 | .945 | 1.041 | .309 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.47 | .893 | | |
| In 20 to 30 years, there will be no Turkishness left in Germany | FG | 137 | 2.29 | .964 | .070 | .792 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.33 | 1.112 | | |

The underlying difference between the generations is that while first-generation informants tend to consider Islam as the core value of Turkish identity, second-generation informants tend to consider the Turkish language as the core value of Turkish identity. Both generations of informants indicate that in Germany there are enough news resources and enough facilities for Turkish immigrants. In addition, second-generation informants report that in 20 to 30 years Turks will be more organised and unified in Germany. On the other hand, informants from both generations showed low evaluations on the statements 'Turks in Germany are being represented well by politicians', 'Germans value Turkish culture and language', and 'In Germany, there are enough facilities to learn Turkish culture and the Turkish language', while the statement 'in 20 to 30 years, there will be no Turkishness left in Germany' got the lowest evaluation.

### 5.7.2 Public versus private use of language

As discussed in detail in Chapter 2, language is one of the most important aspects of culture and it is the vehicle par excellence to learn about one's own culture. Hence, the subjective vitality of the language and culture of an ethnic group is an

important indicator for the maintenance of the heritage culture or the adoption of the host community culture. Turkish immigrants might have positive attitudes towards the host culture but feel that they cannot adopt certain habits and behaviour due to deeply rooted ethnic group-specific cultural values and beliefs. In order to examine the language and vitality perception of the Turkish immigrants across generations, an ANOVA test was carried out (Table 5.28).

Table 5.28: Turkish language and culture vitality - ANOVA analysis between generations

| Variables | G | N | M | S.D. | F | *P* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Immigrants in Germany should speak German | FG | 137 | 3.40 | 1.257 | 1.858 | .174 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.60 | 1.169 | | |
| Immigrants in Germany should give top priority to German customs | FG | 137 | 1.90 | .834 | .179 | .672 |
| | SG | 129 | 1.85 | .902 | | |
| Immigrants in Germany should speak their own language | FG | 137 | 4.13 | .794 | 2.158 | .143 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.27 | .758 | | |
| Immigrants in Germany should live on according to their own culture | FG | 137 | 4.03 | .766 | .345 | .558 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.09 | .791 | | |
| Immigrants in Germany should give top priority to their own customs | FG | 137 | 3.35 | 1.068 | 1.765 | .185 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.17 | 1.140 | | |
| Immigrants in Germany should live on according to German customs | FG | 137 | 2.28 | .983 | .000 | .989 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.28 | .984 | | |
| In public, immigrants should always speak German | FG | 137 | 3.08 | 1.213 | .048 | .827 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.05 | 1.310 | | |
| In public, immigrants should speak their own language | FG | 137 | 3.77 | .874 | 3.392 | .067 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.55 | 1.097 | | |
| In public, immigrants should give top priority to German customs | FG | 137 | 2.02 | .870 | .305 | .581 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.09 | 1.000 | | |
| In public, immigrants should act according to their own culture | FG | 137 | 3.64 | .898 | .157 | .692 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.59 | .989 | | |
| In public, immigrants should act according to German culture | FG | 137 | 2.70 | 1.024 | .044 | .835 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.67 | 1.032 | | |
| At home, immigrants should speak their own language | FG | 137 | 4.47 | .718 | 2.139 | .145 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.60 | .733 | | |
| At home, immigrants should live on according to German customs | FG | 137 | 1.80 | .925 | .465 | .496 |
| | SG | 129 | 1.72 | .857 | | |
| At home, immigrants should live on according to their own customs | FG | 137 | 4.26 | .834 | 1.910 | .168 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.40 | .723 | | |
| At home, immigrants should speak German | FG | 137 | 2.63 | 1.317 | 7.125 | .008 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.23 | 1.108 | | |

(Mean values closer to 1 indicate disagree; whereas mean values closer to 5 indicate agree).

Upon examining the findings in Table 5.28, it is clear that the Turkish informants of both generations do not show strong signs of integration in the public domain. They showed the highest evaluations for the statements related to the domestic domain; the informants support the idea that at home immigrants can speak their own language, and can practice their own customs. The informants did not show high evaluations for the same statements with regard to the public domain, which might be interpreted as divergence from the mainstream norms and values regarding language use and social behaviour. The informants fully support the idea of speaking Turkish in the domestic domain but display moderate support for adopting German language in the public domain. The underlying result is that second-generation Turkish informants showed higher evaluations than the first generation for the use of the Turkish language and for living on according to their own customs in the domestic domain, while first-generation informants showed a higher evaluation than the second generation for the same statements in the public domain. Accordingly, first-generation informants showed a higher evaluation than the second generation for acting in public according to their own culture. The statements related to the adoption of German customs received the lowest scores from the informants in both generations. However, the use of German in public received average support from the informants. Accordingly, in the domestic domain, the use of German received much higher evaluations from the informants than adopting German customs. From the findings above, we could assume that Turkish informants of both generations make a clear distinction between the domestic domain and public domain, and between German language and German culture. They indicate that, they believe that learning German is a prerequisite for adaptation to the economic and social life in Germany. Regarding research question 15, it is clear that both generations of Turkish immigrants tend to maintain their home language. The Turkish informants of both generations showed high support for the maintenance of their own language and culture, which shows the degree of integration of Turkish immigrants in Germany.

In line with the outcomes above, it is clear that regarding language use and choice patterns (research question 16), Turkish informants make a distinction between public and private domains. Turkish immigrants are in favour of integration in the public domain while they are in favour of cultural maintenance in the domestic domain (research question 18). It is clear that young generations are in favour of bilingualism and biculturalism. Finally, the findings show that Turkish immigrants in Germany are in favour of linguistic and cultural maintenance, resulting in the maintenance of the Turkish language across all age groups (research question 17).

### 5.7.3 Language use-choice with different interlocutors

Minority language maintenance patterns among immigrant groups are important indicators for cultural maintenance and integration as well. In this respect, language

choice with different interlocutors shows the extent of first and second language use. When we examine the reported language choice patterns across generations, it is clear that both generations choose and use Turkish with different interlocutors. It is expected that most informants would choose Turkish in speaking to their parents. The findings reported in Table 5.29 support this customary behaviour.

Table 5.29: Language choice - informant to the interlocutors - ANOVA differences (N=266)

| Variables | G | N | M | S.D. | F | *P* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| With your father, which language do you speak? | FG | 137 | 4.64 | .578 | 12.306 | .001 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.35 | .777 | | |
| With your mother, which language do you speak? | FG | 137 | 4.71 | .558 | 23.371 | .000 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.30 | .797 | | |
| With your brother/sister, which language do you speak? | FG | 137 | 4.09 | 1.014 | 60.918 | .000 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.17 | .911 | | |
| With your Turkish friend, which language do you speak? | FG | 137 | 3.97 | .931 | 27.009 | .000 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.44 | .706 | | |
| With Turkish friends in your neighbourhood, which language do you speak? | FG | 137 | 4.04 | .890 | 30.917 | .000 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.48 | .751 | | |
| In Turkish shops, which language do you speak? | FG | 137 | 4.07 | .819 | 6.586 | .011 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.82 | .775 | | |
| In the café, which language do you speak? | FG | 137 | 4.22 | .745 | 12.385 | .001 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.89 | .773 | | |
| At the mosque, which language do you speak? | FG | 137 | 4.49 | .620 | 9.236 | .003 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.25 | .674 | | |
| On the phone with Turks, which language do you speak? | FG | 137 | 4.26 | .767 | 7.243 | .008 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.00 | .781 | | |

(Mean values closer to 1 indicate German language use; whereas mean values closer to 5 indicate Turkish language use).

One would expect Turkish to be used much more among the first generation and less among the second generation. However, in spite of significant differences between the generations, both generations report an equally frequent choice of Turkish language use. Even in speaking to brothers and sisters, second-generation Turkish informants report equally frequent use of Turkish and German. In other immigration contexts, second-generation Turkish immigrants choose to use the mainstream language more (Extra & Yagmur, 2004; Yagmur & Akinci, 2003; Yagmur, 2009).

The home domain is known as the most supportive for first language maintenance. The findings reported in Table 5.29 provide support for this widely

accepted sociolinguistic evidence. In the public domain, the use of the first language is usually much less frequent compared to mainstream language use. However, in this study, the informants also report a more frequent use of Turkish in speaking to different interlocutors in various places such as shops, cafes and mosques. This is most probably due to the demographic concentration of Turkish immigrants in certain suburbs where they are in constant contact with other Turkish immigrants. Compared to other immigration contexts, Turkish immigrants in Germany present rather different language choice patterns. On the basis of the reported choice patterns of different generations, we can easily conclude that there is high first language maintenance among the informants.

We examined language use-choice patterns of different interlocutors with the informants of both generations. The findings are presented in Table 5.30.

Table 5.30: Language choice - interlocutors to the informant - ANOVA differences (N=266)

| Variables | G | N | M | S.D. | F | *P* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| In which language does your mother speak to you? | FG | 137 | 4.72 | .552 | 14.662 | .000 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.43 | .705 | | |
| In which language do your brothers/sisters speak to you? | FG | 137 | 4.18 | .987 | 62.130 | .000 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.25 | .944 | | |
| In which language do your friends speak to you? | FG | 137 | 3.94 | .938 | 35.432 | .000 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.33 | .731 | | |
| In which language do your relatives speak to you? | FG | 137 | 4.36 | .704 | 6.787 | .010 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.14 | .658 | | |
| In which language do your Turkish neighbours speak to you? | FG | 137 | 4.31 | .683 | 1.559 | .213 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.22 | .572 | | |

(Mean values closer to 1 indicate German language use; whereas mean values closer to 5 indicate Turkish language use)

As can be seen in Table 5.30, the findings show consistency with the findings presented in Table 5.29. The interlocutors of the first-generation informants report a more frequent choice of Turkish than the interlocutors of the second-generation informants. However, despite the significant differences between the generations, all the interlocutors of both generations report a very frequent choice of Turkish language use. In speaking to the second-generation informants, brothers, sisters and friends choose to use both Turkish and German equally. However, when the interlocutors are mothers, relatives and neighbours, Turkish is frequently used with the informants of the second-generation. Again, neighbours being reported as choosing to use Turkish with second-generation informants is most probably caused by the demographic concentration of Turkish immigrants in certain suburbs where they interact with other Turkish immigrants on a daily basis.

Table 5.31: Language attitudes - ANOVA analysis between generations (N=266)

| Variables | G | N | M | S.D. | F | *P* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| When tired, which language do you speak? | FG | 137 | 3.99 | .899 | 28.696 | .000 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.40 | .896 | | |
| When under stress, which language do you speak? | FG | 137 | 3.88 | .981 | 25.901 | .000 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.25 | 1.031 | | |
| When angry, which language do you speak? | FG | 137 | 3.84 | 1.031 | 19.344 | .000 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.31 | .925 | | |
| When anxious, which language do you speak? | FG | 137 | 3.80 | 1.006 | 21.092 | .000 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.24 | .990 | | |
| When disputing, which language do you speak? | FG | 137 | 3.76 | 1.011 | 20.298 | .000 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.24 | .855 | | |
| When happy, which language do you speak? | FG | 137 | 3.91 | .977 | 16.296 | .000 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.46 | .820 | | |
| When confused, which language do you speak? | FG | 137 | 3.86 | .909 | 30.479 | .000 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.25 | .902 | | |

(Mean values closer to 1 indicate German language preference; whereas mean values closer to 5 indicate Turkish language preference).

As can be seen in Table 5.31, the informants of all generations show high score on the choice of Turkish when they are happy, angry, tired, anxious, under stress, and confused as well as when they dispute. In some situations related to feelings, one would expect a much higher score on the use of Turkish among the first generation and less use among the second generation. The findings reported in Table 5.31 support this usual outcome in that there are very significant differences between the generations. For all statements, the first-generation informants reported a much higher score on the choice of Turkish than second-generation informants. This result indicates that since the second-generation informants were born, educated and socialized in Germany, they are much more proficient in German compared to the first-generation immigrants.

Reported language preferences of Turkish informants across generations are presented in Table 5.32. When we examine reported language preference patterns of different generations, it is clear that all generations prefer mostly Turkish when talking about current events, politics, religious matters, music, and education. One would expect a much higher score on Turkish among the first generation compared to the second generation and in all statements first-generation Turkish informants do indeed report a much stronger preference for Turkish language use. One of the reasons for this is most their native competence level in Turkish and their lack of competence in German

Table 5.32: Language preference - ANOVA analysis between generations (N=266)

| Variables | G | N | M | S.D. | F | *P* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| When talking about current events, which language do you prefer? | FG | 137 | 3.64 | .889 | 18.609 | .000 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.19 | .801 | | |
| When talking about academic topics, which language do you prefer? | FG | 137 | 3.50 | 1.037 | 26.689 | .000 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.86 | .966 | | |
| When talking about politics, which language do you prefer? | FG | 137 | 3.60 | .958 | 27.450 | .000 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.00 | .901 | | |
| When talking about music, which language do you prefer? | FG | 137 | 3.84 | .859 | 19.139 | .000 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.39 | .823 | | |
| When talking about religious matters, which language do you prefer? | FG | 137 | 4.07 | .909 | 9.205 | .003 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.74 | .813 | | |
| When talking about education, which language do you prefer? | FG | 137 | 3.85 | .874 | 33.825 | .000 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.25 | .801 | | |

(Mean values closer to 1 indicate German language preference; whereas mean values closer to 5 indicate Turkish language preference).

Accordingly, first-generation informants are most probably in constant contact with other Turkish immigrants, which naturally also results in more use of Turkish. Since an academic environment requires German language competence and some second-generation informants are most probably in contact with Germans in academic domains, second-generation informants reported an almost equal level of use for Turkish and German.

Table 5.33: Language sound perception - ANOVA analysis between generations (N=266)

| Variables | G | N | M | S.D. | F | *P* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Which language sounds more pleasing? | FG | 137 | 3.70 | .780 | .477 | .491 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.77 | .796 | | |
| Which language sounds more friendly? | FG | 137 | 3.91 | .766 | .410 | .522 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.84 | .765 | | |
| Which language sounds more privileged? | FG | 137 | 3.25 | .991 | 1.481 | .225 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.39 | .869 | | |
| Which language sounds more polite? | FG | 137 | 3.75 | .847 | .714 | .399 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.84 | .798 | | |
| Which language sounds more sincere? | FG | 137 | 3.93 | .778 | .144 | .705 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.90 | .727 | | |
| Which language sounds more modern? | FG | 137 | 3.47 | .916 | .048 | .826 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.45 | .927 | | |

(Mean values closer to 1 indicate more positive attitudes towards German; whereas mean values closer to 5 indicate more positive attitudes towards Turkish).

Attitudes towards Turkish and German languages are presented in Table 5.33. As can be seen in Table 5.33, both generations of Turkish informants report a very high esteem for the Turkish language. The informants report that Turkish is more pleasing, friendly, privileged, polite, sincere, and modern.

The underlying result in the findings is that even though the second-generation informants reported using Turkish less than the first generation, their perception of the Turkish language is similar to that of the first generation. Moreover, they even show higher scores on Turkish than the first generation.

Language maintenance is said to be influenced by the ethnolinguistic vitality of a linguistic minority group. In this context, the subjective perception of language vitality is an important indicator for the immigrant groups' linguistic integration strategies. Low linguistic vitality perceptions lead to linguistic shift to the host language while high linguistic vitality perceptions lead to maintenance of the first language. The importance of Turkish in Germany across generations is presented in Table 5.34.

Table 5.34: Importance of Turkish - ANOVA analysis between generations (N=266)

| Variables | G | N | M | S.D. | F | *P* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| To make friends, which language is more important? | FG | 137 | 3.04 | .617 | 1.847 | .175 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.95 | .448 | | |
| To make money, which language is more important? | FG | 137 | 2.31 | .703 | 5.190 | .024 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.12 | .657 | | |
| To receive an education, which language is more important? | FG | 137 | 2.11 | .764 | 1.694 | .194 |
| | SG | 129 | 1.99 | .702 | | |
| To get a job, which language is more important? | FG | 137 | 2.04 | .732 | 2.201 | .139 |
| | SG | 129 | 1.91 | .690 | | |
| To receive advanced education, which language is more important? | FG | 137 | 2.07 | .833 | 2.254 | .135 |
| | SG | 129 | 1.92 | .714 | | |
| For living in Germany, which language is more important? | FG | 137 | 2.28 | .685 | 2.145 | .144 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.16 | .671 | | |
| To be influential in Turkish society, which language is more important? | FG | 137 | 3.39 | .826 | 1.467 | .227 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.51 | .751 | | |
| For raising children, which language is more important? | FG | 137 | 3.12 | .654 | .011 | .915 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.11 | .603 | | |
| To be accepted by Turks, which language is more important? | FG | 137 | 3.55 | .757 | .439 | .508 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.60 | .642 | | |
| To speak with friends, which language is more important? | FG | 137 | 3.25 | .662 | 6.025 | .015 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.08 | .444 | | |
| To get accepted by Germans, which language is more important? | FG | 137 | 2.30 | .780 | 5.664 | .018 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.07 | .792 | | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| To speak with colleagues, which language is more important? | FG | 137 | 2.48 | .698 | 2.998 | .085 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.33 | .700 | | |
| For travelling, which language is more important? | FG | 137 | 2.77 | .585 | .048 | .827 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.78 | .649 | | |
| To be active in trade, which language is more important? | FG | 137 | 2.64 | .640 | 5.297 | .022 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.44 | .728 | | |

(Mean values closer to 1 indicate higher value of German; whereas mean values closer to 5 indicate higher value of Turkish).

As is shown in Table 5.34, there are non-significant differences among the two generations. The informants of both generations showed almost equal choices on the statements. They reported that to receive good quality and advanced education, German is more important than Turkish. Accordingly, they seem to consider the German language as being more important to get a job and to make money. In the same vein, the informants seem to consider that to live in Germany and to get accepted by Germans, German is more important than Turkish. In addition, for being active in trade, travelling and speaking with colleagues, German is reported to be relatively more important than Turkish. On the other hand, the informants reported that Turkish is more important to be accepted by Turks. The informants of both generations reported that to raise children, to make friends, and to speak with friends both languages have almost equal importance. In accordance with the findings in Table 5.34, we can assume that the informants value both German and Turkish equally by showing a strong preference for bilingualism.

In sum, second-generation informants' choice in favour of the host language is stronger than among first-generation informants. Accordingly, second-generation Turkish immigrants have more positive attitudes towards the host language. Consequently, regarding research question 19, it can easily be claimed that the more competent immigrants are in the host language, the more positive attitudes they will show towards the host community. In this regard, language is an important predictor of acculturation.

### 5.7.4 Overall evaluation of the acculturation scales

In this section, all the variables in the various scales were analyzed and total scores for each scale were calculated.

The outcomes of the analysis between generations are presented in Table 5.35. As can be seen in the table, there is almost equal support for multiculturalism across generations. Accordingly, the informants of both generations show very high scores on feeling Turkish, Turkish identity, Turkish behaviour, norms with regard to Turkish language and culture, Turkish networks, and Turkish language register spoken with different interlocutors and with informants (research question 20). In the same vein, the outcomes for feeling mainstream, and mainstream

identity as well as mainstream behaviour, mainstream network, norms with regard to mainstream language and culture, and societal importance of the Turkish language turned out to be relatively low.

Table 5.35: Total scale scores - ANOVA analysis between generations (N=266)

| Scales | G | N | M | S.D. | F | *P* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Multiculturalism | FG | 137 | 3.13 | .429 | .022 | .882 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.12 | .407 | | |
| Feeling Turkish | FG | 137 | 4.15 | .699 | 2.938 | .088 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.00 | .704 | | |
| Feeling Mainstream | FG | 137 | 2.14 | .692 | 1.185 | .277 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.05 | .685 | | |
| Turkish Identity | FG | 137 | 4.09 | .796 | 2.303 | .130 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.94 | .821 | | |
| Mainstream Identity | FG | 137 | 1.86 | .710 | .743 | .389 |
| | SG | 129 | 1.79 | .616 | | |
| Turkish Behaviour | FG | 137 | 4.18 | .647 | 2.937 | .088 |
| | SG | 129 | 4.06 | .567 | | |
| Mainstream Behaviour | FG | 137 | 2.62 | .629 | .282 | .596 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.65 | .536 | | |
| Religious Beliefs | FG | 137 | 3.80 | .743 | .339 | .561 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.75 | .782 | | |
| Turkish Network | FG | 137 | 3.93 | .589 | .073 | .787 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.91 | .597 | | |
| Mainstream Network | FG | 137 | 2.67 | .613 | 3.553 | .061 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.81 | .630 | | |
| Vitality | FG | 137 | 3.32 | .516 | .035 | .851 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.31 | .517 | | |
| Norms with regard to Turkish language and culture | FG | 137 | 3.95 | .513 | .000 | .983 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.95 | .542 | | |
| Norms with regard to mainstream language and culture | FG | 137 | 2.48 | .526 | .329 | .567 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.44 | .590 | | |
| Language register spoken with different interlocutors | FG | 137 | 4.28 | .611 | 35.478 | .000 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.86 | .537 | | |
| Language register spoken to informant | FG | 137 | 4.30 | .617 | 38.125 | .000 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.87 | .516 | | |
| Language use | FG | 137 | 3.73 | .811 | 49.120 | .000 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.11 | .618 | | |
| Language preference | FG | 137 | 3.86 | .887 | 30.477 | .000 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.31 | .744 | | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Language choice across topics | FG | 137 | 3.75 | .802 | 32.467 | .000 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.24 | .641 | | |
| Private value of Turkish | FG | 137 | 3.24 | .491 | .947 | .331 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.19 | .388 | | |
| Societal importance of the Turkish language | FG | 137 | 2.44 | .494 | 4.127 | .043 |
| | SG | 129 | 2.32 | .414 | | |
| Attitudes towards home and mainstream languages | FG | 137 | 3.67 | .616 | .143 | .706 |
| | SG | 129 | 3.70 | .616 | | |

On the other hand, there are very significant differences between the two generations regarding language use, choice, and preference for Turkish in the sense that the first-generation immigrants showed higher use and preference for Turkish than second-generation informants. However, the informants of both generations showed relatively high scores on the private value of Turkish and on the attitudes towards Turkish. In addition, for the vitality scale, the informants of both generations indicated that the Turkish language was slightly more vital to them than the German language.

In line with the findings above, it is clear that the Turkish language is the most prominent core value for the Turkish immigrants. Moreover, religious identity turns out to be an important value for the Turkish immigrants in Germany as well (research question 14).

## 5.8 Ethnolinguistic vitality perception

Status, Demographic, and Institutional Support factors combine to make up the vitality of an ethnolinguistic group (Giles et al. 1977). An assessment of a group's strengths and weaknesses in each of these domains provides a rough classification of ethnolinguistic groups into those having *low, medium,* or *high* vitality. Low vitality groups are most likely to go through linguistic assimilation and may not be considered a distinctive collective group (Bourhis et al. 1981).

In order to reflect on the vitality perceptions of German and Turkish groups, informants from both groups were surveyed. Informants rated both Turkish and German vitalities on the basis of 24 statements for evaluating Status, Demographic, and Institutional Support.

### 5.8.1 Ethnolinguistic vitality of the mainstream society

An ANOVA test was employed to study the subjective vitality perceptions of both German and Turkish informants regarding German vitality. The results are presented in Table 5.36.

Table 5.36: German vitality perception - ANOVA analyses between Germans and Turks

| Variables | Ethnicity | N | M | S.D. | F | *P* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Proportion of population | Turkish | 251 | 5,11 | 1,950 | 8.574 | .004 |
| | German | 129 | 5,67 | 1,271 | | |
| Perceived language status locally | Turkish | 251 | 5,98 | 1,494 | 11.271 | .001 |
| | German | 129 | 6,46 | ,901 | | |
| Perceived language status internationally | Turkish | 251 | 4,85 | 1,776 | 153.113 | .000 |
| | German | 129 | 2,62 | 1,415 | | |
| Amount of German in government services | Turkish | 251 | 6,59 | 1,059 | 4.510 | .034 |
| | German | 129 | 6,81 | ,574 | | |
| German birth-rate | Turkish | 251 | 3,41 | 1,862 | .622 | .431 |
| | German | 129 | 3,26 | 1,701 | | |
| German control over business | Turkish | 251 | 5,69 | 1,598 | 3.079 | .080 |
| | German | 129 | 5,97 | 1,262 | | |
| German language in mass-media | Turkish | 251 | 5,92 | 1,811 | 19.360 | .000 |
| | German | 129 | 6,68 | 1,031 | | |
| Perceived group status | Turkish | 251 | 5,21 | 1,894 | 19.569 | .000 |
| | German | 129 | 6,02 | 1,247 | | |
| Proportion of German locally | Turkish | 251 | 5,00 | 2,004 | 39.526 | .000 |
| | German | 129 | 3,67 | 1,864 | | |
| German language at school | Turkish | 251 | 6,54 | 1,324 | 7.418 | .007 |
| | German | 129 | 6,88 | ,673 | | |
| German immigration patterns | Turkish | 251 | 3,08 | 1,887 | 4.235 | .040 |
| | German | 129 | 3,50 | 1,933 | | |
| In-group marriage | Turkish | 251 | 4,10 | 1,620 | 142.319 | .000 |
| | German | 129 | 6,04 | 1,246 | | |
| German political power | Turkish | 251 | 6,16 | 1,444 | .002 | .962 |
| | German | 129 | 6,16 | 1,413 | | |
| German language in business | Turkish | 251 | 6,51 | 1,184 | .803 | .371 |
| | German | 129 | 6,63 | 1,153 | | |
| German emigration patterns | Turkish | 251 | 3,12 | 1,669 | 3.412 | .066 |
| | German | 129 | 2,80 | 1,470 | | |
| Pride of cultural history | Turkish | 251 | 3,58 | 1,950 | 181.805 | .000 |
| | German | 129 | 6,12 | 1,231 | | |
| German language of worship | Turkish | 251 | 4,98 | 2,066 | 14.389 | .000 |
| | German | 129 | 5,78 | 1,714 | | |
| Group's cultural representation | Turkish | 251 | 5,55 | 1,567 | 4.298 | .039 |
| | German | 129 | 5,87 | 1,135 | | |
| Perceived group strength | Turkish | 251 | 5,57 | 1,499 | 5.118 | .024 |
| | German | 129 | 5,19 | 1,643 | | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Group wealth | Turkish | 251 | 3,85 | 1,617 | 30.780 | .000 |
| | German | 129 | 4,79 | 1,445 | | |
| Predicted future strength | Turkish | 251 | 4,77 | 1,676 | .244 | .622 |
| | German | 129 | 4,86 | 1,560 | | |
| Extent of in-group solidarity | Turkish | 251 | 4,11 | 1,625 | 51.711 | .000 |
| | German | 129 | 5,40 | 1,707 | | |
| Importance of norms and values for the group | Turkish | 251 | 3,65 | 1,738 | 2.828 | .093 |
| | German | 129 | 3,95 | 1,307 | | |
| Perceived contact between Germans and Turks | Turkish | 246 | 3,97 | 1,421 | 7.738 | .006 |
| | German | 128 | 3,52 | 1,582 | | |

The findings reported in Table 5.36 show that both ethnic groups reported high German vitality perceptions. Considering demographic support variables, both ethnic groups showed high evaluations for the proportion of population, and for in-group marriage. The other demographic support variables, namely birth-rate and immigration-emigration patterns received less than medium level evaluations from both groups. There are significant differences between the informant groups in that German informants showed a much higher evaluation for their in-group marriage patterns compared to the Turkish informants. Accordingly, the German informants showed medium level evaluation for their local population while Turkish informants showed higher evaluations on this statement.

Status variables also received high evaluations from both groups and the local status of the German language is estimated to be very high. However, although Turkish informants showed high evaluations for the international status of the German language, the German informants perceive the international status of their language as being rather low. In addition, the statement on German control over business received very high evaluations from both groups. On the other hand, Turkish informants showed higher evaluations on the German group status than the German informants. German and Turkish informants do not agree on the statement regarding pride of German cultural history.

Concerning the institutional support variables, both ethnic groups showed very high evaluations on the amount of German in government services, and on the political power of Germans. Accordingly, both groups showed very high evaluations on the German language in business, in mass media, at school, and at religious institutions. Similarly, both groups showed very high evaluations on the cultural representation of Germans.

In addition, the perceived group strength was evaluated as being high both by German and Turkish informants. However, although Turkish informants showed high evaluations on German group wealth, and predicted future strength as well as in-group solidarity, the scores are much lower than the German informants' evaluations on the same statements. Finally, the statements on the importance of

norms and values for the German group, and contact between Germans and Turks received medium evaluations from both groups.

### 5.8.2 Ethnolinguistic vitality of Turkish immigrants

An ANOVA test was employed to study the subjective vitality perception of both German and Turkish informants regarding Turkish vitality. The results are presented in Table 5.37.

Table 5.37: Turkish vitality perception - ANOVA analyses between Germans and Turks

| Variables | Ethnicity | N | M | S.D. | F | *P* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Proportion of population | Turkish | 251 | 2.87 | 1.718 | 4,378 | .037 |
| | German | 129 | 2.51 | 1.312 | | |
| Perceived language status locally | Turkish | 251 | 3.72 | 1.785 | 7.716 | .006 |
| | German | 129 | 3.20 | 1.563 | | |
| Perceived language status internationally | Turkish | 251 | 3.20 | 1.755 | 43.868 | .000 |
| | German | 129 | 4.45 | 1.718 | | |
| Amount of Turks in government services | Turkish | 251 | 2.76 | 1.740 | 7.580 | .006 |
| | German | 129 | 2.28 | 1.386 | | |
| Turks birth-rate | Turkish | 251 | 4.61 | 1.694 | 1.594 | .208 |
| | German | 129 | 4.84 | 1.514 | | |
| Turkish control over business | Turkish | 251 | 3.07 | 1.475 | 4.973 | .026 |
| | German | 129 | 2.71 | 1.453 | | |
| Turkish language in mass-media | Turkish | 251 | 3.06 | 1.905 | 43.608 | .000 |
| | German | 129 | 1.83 | 1.306 | | |
| Perceived group status | Turkish | 251 | 3.26 | 1.748 | 7.594 | .006 |
| | German | 129 | 2.78 | 1.336 | | |
| Proportion of Turks locally | Turkish | 251 | 3.96 | 1.923 | 92.354 | .000 |
| | German | 129 | 5.80 | 1.394 | | |
| Turkish language at school | Turkish | 251 | 2.60 | 1.505 | .087 | .768 |
| | German | 129 | 2.64 | 1.286 | | |
| Turkish immigration patterns | Turkish | 251 | 2.52 | 2.046 | 1.932 | .165 |
| | German | 129 | 2.23 | 1.651 | | |
| In-group marriage | Turkish | 251 | 5.86 | 1.233 | 41.161 | .000 |
| | German | 129 | 4.97 | 1.375 | | |
| Turkish political power | Turkish | 251 | 2.65 | 1.508 | .048 | .826 |
| | German | 129 | 2.69 | 1.585 | | |
| Turkish language in business | Turkish | 251 | 2.76 | 1.654 | .009 | .925 |
| | German | 129 | 2.74 | 1.597 | | |
| Turkish emigration pattern | Turkish | 251 | 2.82 | 1.718 | 10.225 | .002 |
| | German | 129 | 2.27 | 1.248 | | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pride of cultural history | Turkish | 251 | 5.98 | 1.428 | 159.030 | .000 |
| | German | 129 | 3.87 | 1.761 | | |
| Turkish language of worship | Turkish | 251 | 4.82 | 2.124 | .514 | .474 |
| | German | 129 | 4.66 | 2.152 | | |
| Group's cultural representation | Turkish | 251 | 3.55 | 1.753 | 1.481 | .224 |
| | German | 129 | 3.33 | 1.687 | | |
| Perceived group strength | Turkish | 251 | 3.61 | 1.699 | 3.845 | .051 |
| | German | 129 | 3.26 | 1.597 | | |
| Group wealth | Turkish | 251 | 5.06 | 1.471 | 162.478 | .000 |
| | German | 129 | 3.02 | 1.489 | | |
| Predicted future strength | Turkish | 251 | 4.65 | 1.765 | 4.673 | .031 |
| | German | 129 | 4.26 | 1.558 | | |
| Extent of in-group solidarity | Turkish | 251 | 5.20 | 1.537 | 55.199 | .000 |
| | German | 129 | 3.99 | 1.439 | | |
| Importance of norms and values for the group | Turkish | 251 | 5.71 | 1.692 | 15.973 | .000 |
| | German | 129 | 6.35 | .924 | | |

The findings reported in Table 5.37 show that both ethnic groups indicated relatively low perceptions regarding Turkish vitality. The perceived proportion of the Turkish population received low evaluations from both groups. On the other hand, the German informants indicated that the local proportion of Turkish immigrants is very high, which might be due to the demographic concentration of Turkish immigrants in certain suburbs. Accordingly, both groups reported high immigration and low emigration patterns for Turkish immigrants. It should also be noted that, compared to the Turkish informants, the German informants gave higher evaluations for the immigration pattern and lower evaluations for the emigration pattern of Turkish immigrants. Birth-rate and in-group marriage of Turkish immigrants also received high evaluations from both groups.

Status variables received low evaluations from both groups; the local status of Turkish was evaluated above average by the Turkish informants, while it was evaluated below average by the German informants. While Turkish informants showed a low evaluation of the international status of Turkish, the German informants reported higher evaluations of the same. The statement on Turkish control over business received low evaluations from both groups. Group status of the Turkish informants received lower evaluations from both groups of informants. On the other hand, there are significant differences between the two groups regarding pride of Turkish cultural history: while the German informants showed low evaluations, the scores were very high among the Turkish informants.

Regarding the institutional support variable, both ethnic groups showed a very low evaluation of the amount of Turkish language use in government services, and of the political power of the group. Accordingly, both groups showed low

evaluations for the Turkish language in business, in mass media, and at schools. In addition, both groups showed that the Turkish group has average cultural representation. Both groups showed high evaluations for the use of Turkish in religious worships.

The group strength of the Turkish immigrants in Germany received medium-level evaluation from both groups. On the other hand, wealth of the Turkish group and in-group solidarity received high evaluations from the Turkish informants while they received only average evaluations from the German informants. Turkish immigrants' predicted future strength received equally high evaluations from both German and Turkish informants. Finally, the importance of norms and values for the Turkish group received high evaluations from the Turkish immigrants while it received a much higher score from the German informants.

### 5.8.3 Comparative perspectives on German and Turkish vitality perceptions

In order to compare the subjective vitality perspective of Turkish informants who were born in Turkey and those who were born in Germany, the total scores for each group were calculated.

Table 5.38: ANOVA analyses between Germany-born and Turkey-born Turkish immigrants

| Total Vitality | Birth country | N | Mean | S.D. | F | *P* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| GERVIT | Turkey | 103 | 114.17 | 17.02 | .581 | .446 |
| | Germany | 148 | 112.72 | 13.11 | | |
| TURKVIT | Turkey | 103 | 82.28 | 17.24 | 21.077 | .000 |
| | Germany | 148 | 92.53 | 17.51 | | |

As can be seen in Table 5.38, Turkey-born and Germany-born informants agreed on their German vitality perceptions. On the other hand, Turkish vitality was perceived differently by the two groups. Interestingly, Germany-born informants showed much higher evaluations for Turkish vitality compared to the Turkey-born informants. Apparently, first-generation Turkish informants underestimate their own group vitality in Germany, while Germany-born second-generation informants perceive Turkish vitality as being much higher (research question 21).

## 5.9 Concluding remarks

In this research project, 137 first-generation and 129 second-generation Turkish informants were included to investigate the intergenerational differences in Turkish immigrants' acculturation attitudes and their actual integration patterns. In the same vein, in order to investigate host community members' acculturation attitudes

towards Turkish informants, 129 German informants were also included in this study.

One of the underlying outcomes of the study is that while there is a strong sense of Turkishness across generations of Turkish immigrants, second-generation informants showed a level of ethnic self-identification equal to that of the first generation. Second-generation Turkish informants show higher German language proficiency, which is related to their higher educational attainment in Germany. However, they also make a distinction between the domestic domain and the public domain, using mostly Turkish at home and German at school and in social life, which makes second-generation immigrants bilingual and bicultural in many respects. On the other hand, there is consensus across the two generations of Turkish immigrants on religious identity having primacy as an important dimension of their Turkish self-identification. In the same vein, Turkish immigrants of both generations showed very strong social networks with Turks, which in turn contributes to the maintenance of linguistic and cultural identity. German informants with varying levels of education showed their support to multiculturalism in terms of maintenance of minority language and culture. However, the results show that these views find more support among informants with university degrees than among less educated informants.

CHAPTER 6

# Conclusions and discussion

In the previous chapters, acculturation processes and language orientations of Turkish immigrants across generations have been examined in the German context. Attention was paid to the potential impact of German state integration policies on acculturation orientations of both native Germans and Turkish immigrants. In order to link the outcomes of acculturation research to other explanatory models, ethnolinguistic vitality perceptions of both Turkish immigrants and host community members were investigated. In this chapter, the findings of the study will be summarized and some final remarks will be made.

## 6.1 Acculturation orientations of Turkish immigrants

Cultural identity refers to specific values, ideals and beliefs (e.g., individualism, collectivism, family coherence) adopted from a given cultural group (Jensen, 2003). Personal identity and group identity are complex issues. Talking about immigrant groups or mainstream groups requires an awareness of this complexity. Neither immigrant groups nor mainstream groups should be conceived of as homogenous entities. There is rich social and cultural diversity in both German and Turkish immigrant groups. Besides, the person identified as Turkish on the basis of his or her ethnicity might self-identify primarily as German and as Turkish after that or equally as both. In addition, in different domains of social life, individuals may self-identify sometimes as German and sometimes as Turkish. In this respect, one has to be aware of the implications of putting individuals into predetermined categories. The informants were presented with different options for ethnic identification and they indicated their primary identification in different contexts. As was seen in Chapter 5, some informants identified themselves as only German, and some as both Turkish and German. As documented by Yagmur & van de Vijver (2011), ethnic identification may possibly be influenced by contextual factors as well. While most Turkish immigrants in Australia identified themselves as both Turkish and Australian, for instance, the rate of dual identification was much less among Turkish-Dutch and Turkish-French informants. The lowest dual identification was found among Turkish informants in Germany.

### 6.1.1 Identification patterns of Turkish immigrants

Regarding intergenerational identification patterns, one would expect there to be large differences between first and second-generation informants. In most immigration contexts, categorisations are made that are based on generation, but sociologically, generation differentiation is a very complex matter (Alba, 2005). Just like the first generation, second-generation immigrants are not homogeneous either. Depending on such factors as parental background, education, age and gender, there are huge acculturation (and socialization) differences among the second-generation immigrants as well. In this study, a large difference between first and second-generation informants' ethnic identification was expected to emerge but the results show that there are few differences between the two generations. They all identify themselves as primarily Turkish. As far as identification with the German group is concerned, there are no significant differences between the generations. Yet, second-generation Turkish informants claim to have more knowledge of German and a better understanding of the German mentality than first-generation informants. Likewise, among second-generation informants the feeling of being German is stronger than among those in the first generation. Both generations of informants indicate very strong feelings of attachment to their ethnic identity and religious beliefs. First-generation informants appear to be more religiously oriented than second-generation informants. On the whole, however, the differences between the generations are relatively small. This might be due to rigid social and cultural boundaries between the majority German group and the Turkish immigrants. Because the second-generation immigrants were born and socialized in the German context, one would expect there to be much lower boundaries between the mainstream group and the second generation. Apparently, there are certain societal factors that make both groups of informants respond in similar ways. According to Mueller (2006), the boundaries between the Turkish immigrant group and the German mainstream group are very strong and distinct and incorporation of the Turkish group into the mainstream culture is difficult to achieve. Mueller (2006: 419) claims that "marginalized by the larger society and separated by cultural and religious lifestyles, a significant proportion of the Turkish minority is becoming part of a *parallel society* reinforced by discrimination, restricted educational achievements, and a low socio-economic status."

One of the external factors might be related to the interactive acculturation orientations of both majority and immigrant minority groups. If the immigrant group is not received warmly by the host group and if the cultural differences between the two groups are too great to be bridged, then the intergroup boundary might be too high. Nevertheless, irrespective of the policies of the receiving society, most Turkish informants in this study support pluralistic policies and oppose assimilative predispositions. Both generations of informants believe that the host society must accept cultural diversity and must also support the maintenance of

immigrant cultural values. Interestingly, there are no significant intergenerational differences regarding the host society acculturation orientations.

With respect to the acculturation orientations of the policies of the host society, German informants reported dissimilar views. In the literature, Germany is shown to have an ethnist ideology regarding the integration of ethnic minorities (Bourhis et al. 1997). However, in contrast to the claims made in the literature, most German natives do not seem to support their country's official integration discourse. Most German informants accept diversity and some of them are even opposed to assimilative approaches. Like any other social group, German society is not a homogeneous group of people. There are many different views regarding the integration of immigrants and the policies on the subject. As was documented in Chapter 5, the factor analysis on the Interactive Acculturation Scale (IAS) showed that the views regarding the acculturation of immigrants are heterogeneous. It turns out that education plays an important role in the views and opinions of German natives regarding immigrants and their cultural practices in the German context; the more educated informants tend to be more empathic towards multiculturalism. The factor analysis showed that there is a variety of German views on multiculturalism; while some informants support assimilation, others support integration and multiculturalism. As was also shown by Oakes (2001), grassroots ideologies might be fundamentally different from the state ideology. According to Oakes, French natives do not always support official policies regarding national identity and linguistic assimilation in France. Compared to the formal political discourse in Germany, German informants in this study have very different views on the integration of immigrants. This outcome raises serious questions about the applicability of gross generalisations regarding ethnic groups and state policies. Even though Bourhis et al. (1997) categorize Germany as a country with an ethnist ideology, the reality is much more complex, just as it may be much more complex in many other countries than the static model attributed to them might suggest. The fact that Germany is a highly decentralized country with 16 different federal states (*Bundesländer*), which have widely differing integration policies, also undermines Bourhis et al.'s (1997) static approach. Nevertheless, in most academic research papers, German acculturation orientations are identified as ethnist or assimilationist. For instance, Mueller (2006: 420) claims that "for most Germans integration meant acculturating Turks into German society without any attention paid to pluralism or multiculturalism".

Large cultural differences might negatively affect the acculturation orientations of ethnic groups, resulting in perceived dissimilarity, which can lead to conflict between groups if there are different goals and interests (Liebkind, 2004). The more different the languages, family structures, religion, standard of living, and values of the two groups, the greater the cultural distance between the groups can be said to be. In order to avoid conflicts resulting from cultural differences,

intergroup contact becomes a prerequisite. In the German context, the cultural distance between German natives and Turkish immigrants turns out to be large. Moreover, in some of the reports in the media, there is a certain amount of negative stereotyping of immigrants, which may have negative effects on intergroup relations. According to the self-categorization theory presented in Chapter 2, individuals are more likely to think of themselves as members of social groups under conditions in which the use of a group label maximizes the similarities between oneself and other group members, and heightens one's differences with outsiders (Turner et al. 1987). In line with the findings in this study, we assume that, because of stigmatisation and lack of intergroup relations, Turkish informants attach a great deal of significance to their in-group membership. Findings derived from the Turkish cultural identity scale presented show no differences between the generations. All statements in the Turkish cultural identity scale had very high mean values, showing Turkish immigrants' high self-esteem with regard to their cultural identity: both generations of informants indicated that they are happy to be Turkish, and to be close to other Turks. They also indicated that being Turkish is an important aspect of their personality. On the other hand, where the German cultural identity scale is concerned, all statements in the scale had very low mean values for both generations. In contrast their perceived Turkish cultural identity, Turkish immigrants expressed a very low level of identification with German cultural practices.

Both generations claim that they know Turkish and German culture well and that they are conscious of the cultural differences between them. There turns out to be a strong cultural identification with Turkish among all Turkish informants. Accordingly, both generations of informants report a willingness to maintain Turkish cultural practices. Likewise, Turkish immigrants report a highly positive appreciation of Turkish cultural symbols, norms and values while showing a medium level of appreciation of German cultural symbols, norms and values. On the basis of the results, it becomes clear that no matter whether the informants were born, educated and socialized in Germany or in Turkey, both generations report a stronger adherence to the Turkish cultural practices as well as Turkish norms and values.

Demographic factors such as the fact that Turkish immigrants form the largest immigrant group in Germany and are concentrated in certain areas where mostly other Turkish immigrants live, also contribute to a rich social network and in-group cohesion. Most of the Turkish informants report frequent visits to their homeland; they watch Turkish TV channels and read Turkish newspapers, all of which testifies to close contact with their home culture and home language, and thus to maintenance of language and culture. Besides, the extended network of the Turkish immigrants within their community has been shown to be very wide. On the basis of the findings, it can be claimed that Turkish informants in this study are mostly

in-group oriented. Given the hardened group boundaries between immigrant groups and the host society, social participation and personal interaction between different ethnic groups would appear to be relatively low in the German context. On the other hand, because second-generation Turkish immigrants grow up and are educated and socialized both in Germany and in German, they are slightly more oriented towards the host culture and identify more with the host group compared to first-generation immigrants. Nevertheless, the intergenerational differences are statistically non-significant. Second-generation Turkish youngsters were expected to show much higher acculturation orientations towards the mainstream community than was actually found in the study. Contrary to our hypothesis, the variation observed in acculturation orientations across generations is non-significant. Second-generation Turkish youngsters reported bicultural identities while at the same time showing strong attachment to Turkish cultural values.

### 6.1.2 Differences in religious identification between generations

Before presenting conclusions on religious identification patterns of the Turkish immigrants in the German context, it is necessary to point out that the German and Turkish communities went through very different modernisation processes in the past. The shift from traditional faith to a strong belief in individualism has transformed the German cultural system. By contrast, a strong collectivism and a traditional Islamic belief system have been mostly dominant among Turkish immigrants. Like any other religious groups, Islamic groups are not homogeneous entities. While religion is a significant source of social identity for some Turkish Muslims, it can simply be a symbolic identification for others. Because of large cultural and historical differences between the German and Turkish communities, the meaning of religious identification carries differential weight. Religious identification is one of the many scales in this study and the findings emerging from it cannot be generalized as applying to the Turkish Muslim community in Germany at large: also in this regard, the community is very complex and internal variation within the community is huge.

Because the Turkish community in Germany comes primarily from rural areas in Turkey, they tend to be more traditional in their belief system. As is shown by the results of a factor analysis in Chapter 5 (Table 5.22), even the first-generation immigrants have differing identification patterns. The resulting three-factor solution shows that there are at least three basic orientations with regard to religious identification among these informants. For one group of people, most of the variables related to the meaning of Islam and religious practice such as being a Muslim and being familiar with Islamic rules, fasting, celebrating religious festivals and preferring halal meat are interrelated. The second factor shows that for another group of informants, Islam is more than a traditional belief system. High scores on the five interrelated variables with high loadings on the perception that Islam is not

only a personal matter, but also a power that should play a role in social and political issues and Islamic rules should be strictly obeyed clearly show that some informants demand a legitimate place for Islam in the public space. In contrast to the second factor, a third factor emerges as a single variable with a very high loading on not giving Islamic rules priority in daily life: for some informants, Islamic rules do not play a significant role in social life. Most probably, religion will be predominantly symbolic for them. The findings of the factor analysis reflect the rich social and cultural variation among immigrants. The results obtained from the second-generation informants resemble the orientations of the first generation. Turkish immigrants in Germany apparently are religiously oriented, with first-generation Turkish immigrants turning out to be more religious than second-generation immigrants. However, the findings confirm that some Turkish immigrants make a clear distinction between symbolic identification and actual religious practice.

### 6.1.3 Social networks of the Turkish immigrants

One of the most important indicators for socio-cultural integration is the amount of social contact with host society members. Studying social networks in relation to language use can provide further insight into the language choice patterns of informants and give an overview of language practices across generations (Sankoff et al. 2008). Social networks of immigrants and domains of acculturation are two important factors for immigrants to be able to participate in the mainstream society. If an immigrant's access to the mainstream society is only through his or her work or through school, the chances of actual socio-cultural integration taking place remain limited. As reported in Chapter 5, there is almost no difference between first and second-generation Turkish informants regarding their social networks. Both generations are oriented towards their in-group, which is quite puzzling as one might expect there to be more intensive contact between second generation and host society members. Even though there are no statistically significant differences between the two generations, second-generation Turkish informants do report that they have more contact with host society members than first-generation informants and they also claim that they know the German mentality better than the first generation. In the acculturation literature, second and subsequent generations are said to get more oriented towards the mainstream community as they grow older, because they are educated and socialized in the context of immigration. In this respect, observing almost no differences between first and second generations regarding the structure of their social networks is a remarkable outcome.

## 6.2 Language use-choice patterns of Turkish immigrants

Minority people often adopt the majority language as their regular vehicle of communication, mainly because they expect that speaking that language offers them better chances of upward social mobility and economic success (Appel & Muysken, 1987). As is shown in most language maintenance and shift studies, immigrants shift to the majority language over time. Gonzo & Saltarelli (1983) suggest that because of non-use of the first language and transfer from the second language, first-generation immigrants experience language attrition over the years. However, research has shown that both the strength of group membership and internal characteristics of minority groups might promote language maintenance. In Germany, the Turkish language receives considerable support from both the host and the immigrant sending society. Nevertheless, the availability of Turkish instruction is limited in some German federal states and the Turkish community receives limited institutional support. Yet, Turkish organizations and Turkish language mass media seem to satisfy this need efficiently. In particular, satellite TV plays a crucial role in that over 100 Turkish TV channels with Turkish series, sport events, news, and political discussion programs make the greatest contribution to the maintenance of the Turkish language.

The results of the study show that Turkish immigrants of both generations tend to maintain their Turkish in Germany. Second-generation informants use Turkish mostly in the domestic domain with family members, with neighbours and with Turkish friends, while they speak mostly German in public domains such as school, work, and with German friends. It is clear that second-generation immigrants acquire Turkish as their first language and, upon going to school, learn German and eventually become competent in both languages. As a result, second-generation Turkish immigrants are mostly bilingual and bicultural. In their cross-cultural comparative study, Extra & Yagmur (2011) focused on two ethnic groups, namely Moroccan and Turkish youngsters in the Dutch context. Extra & Yagmur (2011) claim that contrary to second-generation Moroccan youngsters, second-generation Turkish youngsters show strong language maintenance patterns and conceive of language as the core value of their ethnic identity. However, although they speak Turkish at home with their parents, they mostly use the Dutch language when speaking with their siblings, which is a sign of language shift over generations. Second-generation Turkish immigrants in Germany differ from their counterparts in the Netherlands in that in the domestic domain they mostly use Turkish not only with their parents but also with their siblings.

In line with the results on language use-choice preference, our hypotheses that the Turkish language is maintained across all age groups were confirmed. Second-generation Turkish immigrants make a distinction between public and private domains of acculturation: they are in favour of integration in the public domain, and in favour of maintenance in the domestic domain. In the same vein, second-

generation immigrants have more positive attitudes towards the host language than first-generation immigrants, and there is a close relationship between language use and language attitudes of the informants. As a result, second-generation immigrants choose and use the host language more often than first-generation immigrants. As part of the same perspective, second-generation Turkish immigrants are in favour of bilingualism and biculturalism.

In the German context, Turkish immigrants are commonly criticized for their unwillingness to integrate into the host society. In order to support this view, Turkish immigrants are blamed for having insufficient German language proficiency. Apparently, this view considers language as the sole condition for the acculturation of immigrants. Although language plays a crucial role in the process of acculturation, the full spectrum of the concept of acculturation should be studied in all its relevant details in order to understand all the mechanisms that shape integration and language attitudes of immigrant minorities. After all, second-generation Turkish immigrants are capable of using both German and Turkish, and their German proficiency is often even higher than their Turkish proficiency as they have done all their schooling in Germany. Consequently, second-generation Turkish immigrants show bicultural identities, although their cultural orientation is strongly Turkish.

## 6.3 The core values of Turkish identity

As pointed out by Fishman (1985), positive attitudes towards the community language alone do not always lead to language maintenance. If the (first) language is intertwined as a core value with other core values such as religion and historical consciousness, language maintenance can be achieved. In Germany, religion turned out to be one of the most important aspects of the two Turkish generations. There is consensus across the groups of Turkish informants that religious identity has top priority as an important dimension of their Turkish ethnic identity. Verkuyten (2007: 343) suggests that religion is often of profound importance to people's lives and religion is among the more salient buttresses of identity. In this context, mosques serve not only as places for religious practice but also as key centres for social activities and other facilities. In addition, a strong stigmatisation of Islam in media coverage and in general seems to contribute to Turkish immigrants' awareness of being Turkish. In line with the results on Turkish identification, our hypotheses are confirmed that the Turkish language is the most prominent core value, while religious identity is an important dimension for Turkish cultural values in Germany. Accordingly, Turkish immigrants in Germany are quite religiously oriented, first-generation Turkish immigrants being more religious than second-generation immigrants. Nevertheless, some Turkish immigrants make a clear distinction between symbolic identification and actual religious practice. In addition, second-generation immigrants observe Islamic rules less compared to first-generation immigrants.

The underlying differences between the generations are that first-generation informants more so than those from the second-generation consider Islam as the core value of Turkish identity, while second-generation informants more so than those from the first generation consider the Turkish language the core value of Turkish identity. Yet, intriguingly they speak much less Turkish than the first generation.

## 6.4 Ethnic vitality perceptions of Turkish and German groups

Our findings show that Turkish immigrants of both generations self-identify as Turkish. Although second-generation Turkish informants claim to be more familiar with the German language and German mentality than first-generation informants, they show almost equal scores of Turkishness as the first-generation informants.

Berry's (1997) bidimensional model and Bourhis et al.'s (1997) ideological clustering model claim that state integration policies can have a decisive impact on the acculturation orientation of both immigrants and members of the host society. In the literature, Germany is shown to have an ethnist ideology regarding the integration of ethnic minorities (Bourhis et al. 1997). In line with the results we can assume that an ethnist state ideology increases Turkish immigrants' identification with their own ethnic group and encourages maintenance of Turkish cultural values. As shown by Yagmur & van de Vijver (2011: 19), "there is a close connection between the degree of acculturation and the integration ideology of the receiving societies. Turkish immigrants in Australia appear to integrate better into the mainstream society compared to their counterparts in the European context. There can be a number of reasons that we cannot account for on the basis of our data; however, the clear difference between Australian and European discourse regarding immigrants and immigration might play a major role in the acculturation process".

In contrast to the official integration discourse in Germany, most German informants indicated their support for diversity and some of them even indicated that they were opposed to assimilative approaches. The factor analysis we employed yielded a vast variety of German views on multiculturalism ranging from assimilation to integration and to multiculturalism. On the other hand, education proved to play a role in the views and opinions of German informants regarding immigrants and their cultural practices; the more educated tend to be more empathic towards multiculturalism. Nevertheless, we know that although certain terms are easily employed by people, they will often use them in meanings that differ from the narrowly prescribed ones in the academic discourse. For instance, German informants who indicated their support for multiculturalism needed to be interviewed on this so that we might have learnt what they actually meant by saying

'multiculturalism', and thus find out to what extent they really supported it. The events that took place in Germany in the second half of the year 2010 support our hesitations. The book *German Does Away with Itself*, written by Thilo Sarrazin, the former chairman of the German Federal Bank also contributed to discrimination against minorities. In his book, Sarrazin argues that the future of Germany is threatened by the wrong kind of immigrants, particularly from Muslim countries, and he develops proposals for demographic policies aimed at the Muslim population in Germany (*The New York Times,* 29 October 2010). German former President Christian Wullf's speech on the anniversary of German unity day attempted to ease the increasing discrimination among the German community. His words that not only Christianity and Judaism but Islam as well belongs to Germany received controversial responses even in his own party, the Christian Democratic Union. The German Prime Minister Merkel put an end to the discussion. Merkel announced the end of multiculturalism officially. She claimed that although German policy makers worked hard to establish multiculturalism, they had failed because of wide cultural differences. The German Prime Minister's claim supports Balibar & Wallerstein's new racism theory. Balibar & Wallerstein (1991) suggest that especially in Anglo-Saxon countries a new approach towards foreigners has emerged. In this new approach, groups and communities are not compared in terms of whether they are better than others. Instead, the differences of cultures, life styles and customs are stressed to conclude that it is dangerous to open borders between the different communities. We can assume that Merkel's statement was made to satisfy the German public, a many of whom are thought to believe in the idea of a *Leitkultur*, a leading culture which has its roots in the sixteenth century. The discourse of Leitkultur or guiding national culture in turn reinforces trends towards increasing xenophobia among the broader population (*The New York Times*, 29 October 2010). Şen (2011) reported that in recent years, because of the increase of Islamophobia, Turkophobia, and discrimination against foreigners, there is a remarkable tendency towards homeland return migration among well-educated second and third-generation Turkish young people. While first-generation Turkish immigrants tend to stay in Germany because of the benefits of the pension system there, second and third-generation Turkish youngsters who have professional qualifications prefer to look for jobs in Turkey as lawyers, doctors, travel agent, or to run their own business. Some 190,000 young people of Turkish descent have returned to Turkey (Şen, 2011).

The outcomes of our research show clear-cut boundaries between the dominant anti-immigrant political discourse in Germany and the acculturation orientations of Turkish immigrants. However, when we examine the results of ethnolinguistic vitality perceptions of Turkish and German informants, the difference between them is marginal. Both groups held similar opinions regarding the vitalities of the respective groups. Even German informants indicated a much higher evaluation

for Turkish vitality than the Turkish informants did themselves. We may assume that Turkish informants underestimate their own group vitality in the German context, while German informants show a higher valuation for it. In line with the results on the ethnolinguistic vitality perception of Turkish immigrants, our hypotheses were confirmed that Turkish immigrants in Germany support the ideal of multiculturalism. Turkish second-generation youngsters support this ideal more than first-generation Turkish immigrants. However, our hypothesis on Bourhis et al.'s (1997) assumptions turned out to be false in that Turkish immigrants do not show separation strategies in the German context.

## 6.5 Final Remarks

Some questions appeared to confuse certain Turkish informants who might have been less educated than the others, because of the highly specialized Turkish language use. Conducting the survey using questionnaires in both German and Turkish and/or providing more explanation might overcome this problem.

Although we planned to include third generation informants in our study, we were not able to find enough participants from that generation. The reason for this is twofold: firstly, we determined that the age of the participants should be at least 15 in order for us to get rational answers to our questions. This restriction put an unexpected limitation on third-generation Turkish informants. Secondly, Turkish immigrants tend to marry predominantly people from the homeland. In this respect, one of the parents is mostly a first-generation immigrant; as a result, it becomes difficult to find participants whose parents were both born in Germany.

In order to obtain meaningful conclusions on the relationship between language use patterns and acculturation orientations of minority groups, all factors such as language policies of the host society, acculturation attitudes of both majority and minority groups, ethnolinguistic vitality perceptions of minority groups, and intergenerational differences should be included in research studies. Earlier studies, however, mostly focused on only one dimension of the factors that shape acculturation orientations of minorities. In earlier studies in the German context, mostly cultural differences between majority and minority groups and/or German language insufficiency of minority groups were taken into account while other factors were left out. This study differs from the earlier ones in that in order to include all the factors mentioned above, 70 questions on language use, choice, preference and attitudes were employed. Consequently, a clear picture of Turkish immigrants' acculturation orientations in the German context emerged: the ethnolinguistic vitality of Turkish immigrants is considerable. Turkish language and religion are clearly two important core values of Turkishness. In contrast to societal discussions on educational attainments of Turkish youngsters, this study shows that

they are equally competent in both German and Turkish. The second generation makes explicit choices regarding language use in that they use Turkish in the domestic domain while using German in the public domain. The most important barrier that limits the integration of Turkish immigrants into the German community seems to be the limited contact and communication between host and immigrant groups. The dominant discourse in the media further contributes to stricter group boundaries between the two groups.

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## Appendix A: Personal Information and Language Use-Choice Questionnaire

If someone lives in a different culture, it is possible that there is interaction between this person's home culture and the culture in which s/he lives. For instance, a Turkish person living in Germany might add to German culture and at the same time might be influenced by German culture. Without being conscious of it the person might start displaying some elements of German culture. We call this cultural interaction. Different generations might be influenced by this cultural interaction, which is quite normal. By doing this survey we would like to find out the extent of acculturation between different generations.

Some questions might sound rather uncommon to you, yet, this is an academic study. We would be very happy if you could answer all the questions to the best of your knowledge. In the given measurement scale please circle the relevant number which is closest to your opinion. Two sample questions are provided below:

For example;

If you think that Germany is a beautiful country, you can circle number 5 (definitely agree)

| | I definitely don't agree | I don't agree | Neutral | I agree | I definitely agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Germany is a beautiful country | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | (5) |

If you think that Germany is NOT a beautiful country, you can circle 1 (definitely don't agree).

| | I definitely don't agree | I don't agree | Neutral | I agree | I definitely agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Germany is a beautiful country | (1) | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

All the information you provided will be confidential and used only for research purposes. Filling in the questionnaire takes around 20 minutes. Thank you very much for your cooperation.

**PART-I PERSONAL INFORMATION**

1) Gender:
   - 0 Female
   - 0 Male
2) Age: …….. (in years)
3) Country of Birth
   - 0 Turkey
   - 0 Germany
   - 0 Other, namely: ……
4) How long have you been living in Germany? …… years.
5) In which country is your father born?
   - 0 Turkey
   - 0 Germany
   - 0 Other, namely: ……
6) In which country is your mother born?
   - 0 Turkey
   - 0 Germany
   - 0 Other, namely: ……
7) In which city do you live? ……
8) What is the last school diploma you got? ……
9) What is your job? ……
10) Are you married?
    - 0 Yes
    - 0 No
11) If you are married, in which country is your partner born?
    - 0 Turkey
    - 0 Germany
    - 0 Other, namely: ……
12) How often do you visit Turkey?
    - 0 More than once per year
    - 0 Once per year
    - 0 Once every two years
    - 0 Once every three or more years

**PART 2: MULTICULTURALISM INDEX**

For the given statements below, circle the most relevant number for you

| | I definitely don't agree | I don't agree | Neutral | I agree | I definitely agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1) German people should recognize that the German society consists of groups with different cultural backgrounds | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| 2) Ethnic minorities should be helped to preserve their cultural heritage in Germany | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| 3) It is best for Germany if all people forget their cultural backgrounds as soon as possible | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| 4) A society that has a variety of cultural groups is more able to tackle new problems as they ocur | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| 5) The unity of this country is weakened by people from different cultural backgrounds sticking to their old ways | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| 6) If people from different cultural origins want to keep their own culture, they should keep it to themselves | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| 7) A society that has a variety of cultural groups has more problems with national unity than societies with one or two basic cultural groups | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| 8) German people should do more to learn about the customs and heritage of different cultural groups in this country | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| 9) Immigrant families should be supported in maintaining their culture and traditions of their homeland | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| 10) People who come to live in Germany should change their behavior to be more like the Germans | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |

## PART III: GERMAN AND TURKISH CULTURE

2) Different people live in Germany. To which group do you consider yourself to belong to?

- 0 The Turkish group
- 0 The German group
- 0 Both German and Turkish
- 0 Other, namely:

……

| | I definitely don't agree | I don't agree | Neutral | I agree | I definitely agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2) I feel Turkish | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| 3) I feel German | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |

4) I feel Turkish because,

| | I definitely don't agree | I don't agree | Neutral | I agree | I definitely agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I speak Turkish | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I am a Muslim | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I know a lot about my religion | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I live according to Turkish norms and values | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| My parents are Turkish | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I was brought up as a Turk | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I look Turkish | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I feel more comfortable among Turkish people | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Other people consider me as a Turk | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| German culture does not appeal to me | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |

5) I feel German because,

| | I definitely don't agree | I don't agree | Neutral | I agree | I definitely agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I speak German | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I know the German mentality | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I live in according to German norms and values | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I was brought up as a German | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I look German | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I feel more comfortable among German people | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Other people consider me as a German | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| The Turks in Germany and their culture does not appeal to me | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |

6) Circle the relevant number for the following statements.

| | I definitely don't agree | I don't agree | Neutral | I agree | I definitely agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I feel happy being Turkish | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I feel some bond between myself and other Turks | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Being Turkish does not say anything about the kind of person I am | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I regret that I am a Turk | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| When Turks are being talked about, I feel they are also talking about me | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Being a Turk is an important dimension of my cultural identity | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I am proud of being Turkish | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| When I talk about Turks, I mostly say "we/us, Turks" | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I look like other Turks in many ways | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I am happy being like a German | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I feel some bond between myself and other Germans | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Being like a German does not say anything about the kind of person I am | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| When Germans are being talked about, I feel they are also talking about me | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Being like a German is an important dimension of my cultural identity | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I regret that I am like a German | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| When I talk about the Germans, I mostly say "we/us, Germans". | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I look like other Germans in many ways | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7) All in all, do you feel more Turkish or more German? | Only Turkish | More Turkish | Equally both | More German | Only German |

8) In what type of situations or circumstances do you feel more like Turkish?

9) In what type of situations or circumstances do you feel more like German?

10) Circle the relevant number for the following statements.

| | I definitely don't agree | I don't agree | Neutral | I agree | I definitely agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I know Turkish culture very well. | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I know German culture very well. | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I am familiar with Turkish society rules and their implementation | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I am familiar with German society rules and their implementation | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I know Turkish social customs, rules and norms of cultural behavior | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I know German social customs, rules and norms of cultural behavior | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Turkish cultural values (flag, history) mean a lot to me | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| German cultural values (flag, history) mean a lot to me | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Turkish culture is an important aspect of my life | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| German culture is an important aspect of my life | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Turkish culture improves my life | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| German culture improves my life | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I live in accordance with Turkish cultural norms and values | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I live in accordance with German cultural norms and values | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I listen to Turkish music | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I listen to German music | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I watch Turkish news | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I watch German news | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I prefer Turkish food | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I prefer German food | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| In my spare time, I take part in Turkish cultural activities | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| In my spare time, I take part in German cultural activities | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |

**PART 4: RELIGIOUS BELIEF**

Because the questions in this section are related to your personal life and beliefs, you might find some questions to be highly sensitive or purely personal. We respect the sensitivity of the matter and fully respect your personal views. Please remember that this is a scientific research and in order to arrive at healthy conclusions we need to find out the real opinions. As researchers, we simply want to find out about the intergenerational differences. Unconciously, if we had asked any questions that might hurt your feelings or that might appear to be against your personal beliefs, we would apologise for it in advance.

11) Circle the relevant number for the following statements.

| | I definitely don't agree | I don't agree | Neutral | I agree | I definitely agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I am a Muslim | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I know a lot about Islam | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I know Islamic rules very well | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I know how to practise my religion | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I feel a strong bond between myself and other Muslims | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Islam means a lot to me. | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| When Muslims are being talked about, I feel it is about me | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I am in favour of strict application of Islamic rules. | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I take Islamic rules into consideration when I decide about things | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| In Germany, Islam should play a role in social and political issues | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Islam is also about one's private life | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I'm inspired by Islam for my work and for my private life | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I live on without giving Islamic rules priority | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I'm a Muslim observing my religious practice | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I fast during Ramadan. | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I celebrate religious festivities. | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I prefer *halal* meat. | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I believe that religious belief is a personal matter. | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |

**PART 5: SOCIAL NETWORK**

12) Circle the relevant number for the following statements.

| | I definitely don't agree | I don't agree | Neutral | I agree | I definetly agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I have many Turkish friends | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I have many German friends | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| In my spare time, I go to places, such as clubs, tea-houses, where I can meet Turkish people | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| In my spare time, I go to places, such as clubs, tea-houses, where I can meet German people | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I am a member of an German club / organisation | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I am a member of a Turkish club / organisation | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| There are many Turks living in my neighbourhood | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I feel more comfortable among Turks | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I feel more comfortable among the Germans | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I know Germans very well | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I know Turks very well | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I like the way Turks approach each other | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I like the way Germans approach each other | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I have a close relationship with my family | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I have a close relationship with Turkish friends | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I have a close relationship with German friends | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I have Turkish friends that I consider intimate friends | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| I have German friends that I consider intimate friends | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| When I have personal problems, I share it with my Turkish friends | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| When I have personal problems, I share it with my German friends | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| When I need help in my daily life, I ask help from Turkish friends | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| When I need help in my daily life, I ask help from German friends | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| All in all, are you more in contact with Turkish or German people? | Only Turkish | More Turkish | Equally both | More German | Only German |

13) With whom do you pass your time the most? In order of frequency, order the following persons by writing numbers in front of them: for people whom you spend the most time write (1) second most (2), then (3), (4) and for the least time spent, (5).

..... With my family
..... With my Turkish friends
..... With my German friends
…… With my Turkish associates
…… With my German associates

14) Circle the relevant number for the following statements.

| | I definitely don't agree | I don't agree | Neutral | I agree | I definetly agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| If Turks in Germany give up speaking Turkish, they would lose their Turkish identity | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| If Turkish people in Germany give up practising Islam, they would lose their Turkish identity | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| If Turkish people in Germany lose their Turkish norms and values, they would lose their Turkish identity | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| The Turks in Germany can work together as a group | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| The Turks in Germany are well-organised as a group | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| In order to take care of their interests, the Turks in Germany have sufficient number of organisations and foundations. | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Turkish organisations and foundations contribute positively to Turkish community | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| The Turks in Germany always support each other | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| The Turks in Germany are well-represented by politicians | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| German people usually think negatively about the Turks | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| German people value Turkish language and culture | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| German people have negative attitudes towards Turkish language and culture | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Germans discriminate against the Turks | | | | | |
| There are sufficient facilitities to teach Turksih language in Germany | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| In the suburb that I live, there are sufficient number of Turkish organisations, tea-houses, shops, etc. | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| We have sufficient Turkish media in Germany (newspaper, tv, etc.) | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| If a Turk has a problem, s/he would know that s/he can get help from the Turkish community | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| In 20-30 years, Turks will be much more organised in Germany and there will be more solidarity between them. | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| In 20-30 years, there will be no Turkishness left in Germany | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |

**PART 6: IMMIGRANTS IN GERMANY**

15) Circle the relevant number for the following statements.

| | I definitely don't agree | I don't agree | Neutral | I agree | I definetly agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The immigrants living in Germany should speak German | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| The immigrants living in Germany should value German norms and values more than anything | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| The immigrants living in Germany should speak their own language | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| The immigrants living in Germany should live in accordance with their cultural norms and values | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| The immigrants living in Germany should value their own norms and values | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| The immigrants living in German should live in accordance with German norms and values | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |

**IN PUBLIC PLACES, AT WORK, AT SCHOOL**

| | I definitely don't agree | I don't agree | Neutral | I agree | I definetly agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Immigrants should speak in German | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| The immigrants should speak in their own language | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Immigrants should obey the German norms and values | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Immigrants should act in line with their own norms and values | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Immigrants should act in line with German norms and values | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |

**AT HOME**

| | I definitely don't agree | I don't agree | Neutral | I agree | I definetly agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The immigrants should speak in their own language | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Immigrants should live in accordance with the German norms and values | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Immigrants should live in line with their own norms and values | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| The immigrants should speak German | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |

**PART 7: TURKISH-GERMAN LANGUAGE USE**

16) Circle the relevant number for the following statements.

| **In which language do you interact mostly with the following persons?** | Always German | Mostly German | Equal | Mostly Turkish | Always Turkish |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| With your father? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| With your mother? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| With your siblings? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| With your Turkish friends? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| With your Turkish friends in your suburb? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| With people in Turkish businesses? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| With people in tea-houses? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| With people in the mosque? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| With Turkish people on the telephone? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |

| **When the following people speak to you, in which language do they speak?** | Always German | Mostly German | Equal | Mostly Turkish | Always Turkish |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Your father? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Your mother? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Your siblings? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Your friends? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Your relatives? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Your Turkish neighbours? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |

| **In which language do you mostly..?** | Always German | Mostly German | Equal | Mostly Turkish | Always Turkish |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Think? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Dream? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Count, calculate? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Read books? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Read newspapers? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Watch tv? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Listen to radio? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Write? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |

| **Which language do you mostly prefer speaking when you are?** | Always German | Mostly German | Equal | Mostly Turkish | Always Turkish |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tired? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Stressed? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Angry? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| In a hurry? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Arguing? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Happy? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| Confused? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |

| **Which language do you mostly prefer when you speak about the following topics?** | Always German | Mostly German | Equal | Mostly Turkish | Always Turkish |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| On daily matters? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| On academic matters? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| On socio-political matters? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| On popular culture? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| On religious matters? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| On culture-education? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |

| **How important is Turkish to do the following in Germany?** | Not important | A little | Average | Important | Very important |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| To make friends? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| To make money? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| To study? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| To find a job? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| To get a better education? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| To live in Germany? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| To have a say in the society? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| To rear children? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| To be accepted in the Turkish community? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| To speak to Turkish friends? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| To be accepted by German people? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| To speak to work colleagues? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| To travel? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| To do trade? | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |

| **What do you think of German and Turkish?** | Only German | More German | Both the same | More Turkish | Only Turkish |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| It sounds nice | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| It sounds friendly | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| It sounds distinguished | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| It sounds polite | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| It sounds pleasant | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |
| It sounds modern | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** |

**END OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE – THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP**

## Appendix B: Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire

I am investigating Turkish vitality in Germany as part of my Ph.D. dissertation at Tilburg University, the Netherlands. Your cooperation in this study is very much appreciated. Please answer the following questions in accordance with your general knowledge and impressions. It is very important that you answer all the questions. Please give estimated answers to the questions that you feel you do not have information about. Below all the questions, there are 7 point scales. As seen in the example below, circle the number you think it is appropriated.

*Example*: This questionnaire is about Turks

definitely disagree 1 2 3 4 5 (6) 7 definitely agree

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

1. Estimate the proportion of the German population made up of the following groups:

People of German descent
0 % 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 100 %

People of Turkish descent
0 % 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 100 %

2. How highly regarded are the following languages in Germany?

Turkish
not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely high

German
not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely high

3. How highly regarded are the following languages *internationally*?

German
not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely high

Turkish
not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely high

4. How often are the following languages used in German *government services* (e.g., health clinics, schools, etc.)?

Turkish

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 exclusively

German

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 exclusively

5. Estimate *birth rates* of the following groups in Germany:

People of German descent

decreasing 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 increasing

People of Turkish descent

decreasing 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 increasing

6. How much control do the following groups have over economic and business matters in Germany?

People of German descent

none at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 exclusively

People of Turkish descent

none at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 exclusively

7. How well represented are the following languages in the German mass media?

Turkish

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely well

German

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely well

8. How highly regarded are the following groups in Germany?

People of German descent

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely high

People of Turkish descent

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely high

9. In Germany where the following groups live, to what extent are they in the majority or minority?

People of Turkish descent
very small minority 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very large minority

People of German descent
very small minority 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very large minority

10. How much are the following languages taught in German schools?

Turkish
not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 exclusively

German
not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 exclusively

11. How many of the following groups immigrated into Germany last year?

People of German descent
not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very many

People of Turkish descent
not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very many

12. To what extent do the following people *marry* only within their own groups?

People of Turkish descent
not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 exclusively

People of German descent
not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 exclusively

13. How much political power do the following groups have in Germany?

People of German descent
none at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 complete

People of Turkish descent
none at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 complete

14. How well-represented are the following languages in German business institutions?

Turkish

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 exclusively

German

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 exclusively

15. How many of the following groups emigrate from Germany to other countries each year?

People of German descent

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very many

People of Turkish descent

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very many

16. How proud of their cultural history and achievements are the following groups in Germany?

People of Turkish descent

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

People of German descent

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

17. How frequently are the following languages used at places of religious worship?

German

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 exclusively

Turkish

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 exclusively

18. How well represented are the following groups in the cultural life of Germany (e.g., festivals, concerts, art exhibitions)?

People of German descent

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

People of Turkish descent

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

19. How *strong* and *active* do you feel the following groups are in Germany?

People of German descent
not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

People of Turkish descent
not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

20. How *wealthy* do you feel the following groups are in Germany?

People of Turkish descent
not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

People of German descent
not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

21. How strong and active do you feel the following groups will be in 20 to 30 years from now?

People of German descent
not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

People of Turkish descent
not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

22. In general, how much contact is there between people of German and Turkish descent (e.g., friendship, shopping etc.)?

none at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much

23. To what extent do the following groups have in-group solidarity?

People of Turkish descent
not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much

People of German descent
not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much

24. To what extent do the following groups give importance to the traditional values?

People of German descent

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much

People of Turkish descent

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much

TILBURG SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES
## Dissertations in Language and Culture Studies

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